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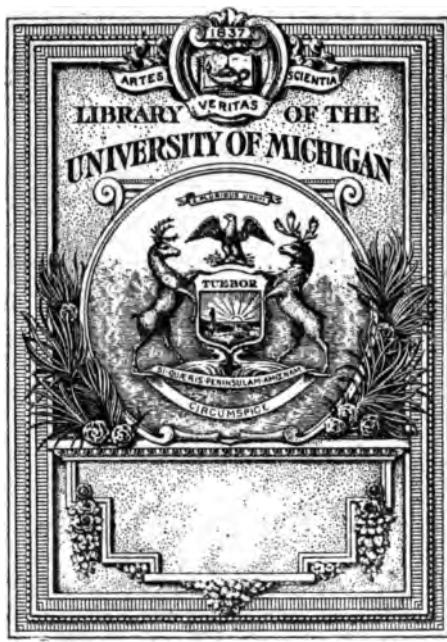
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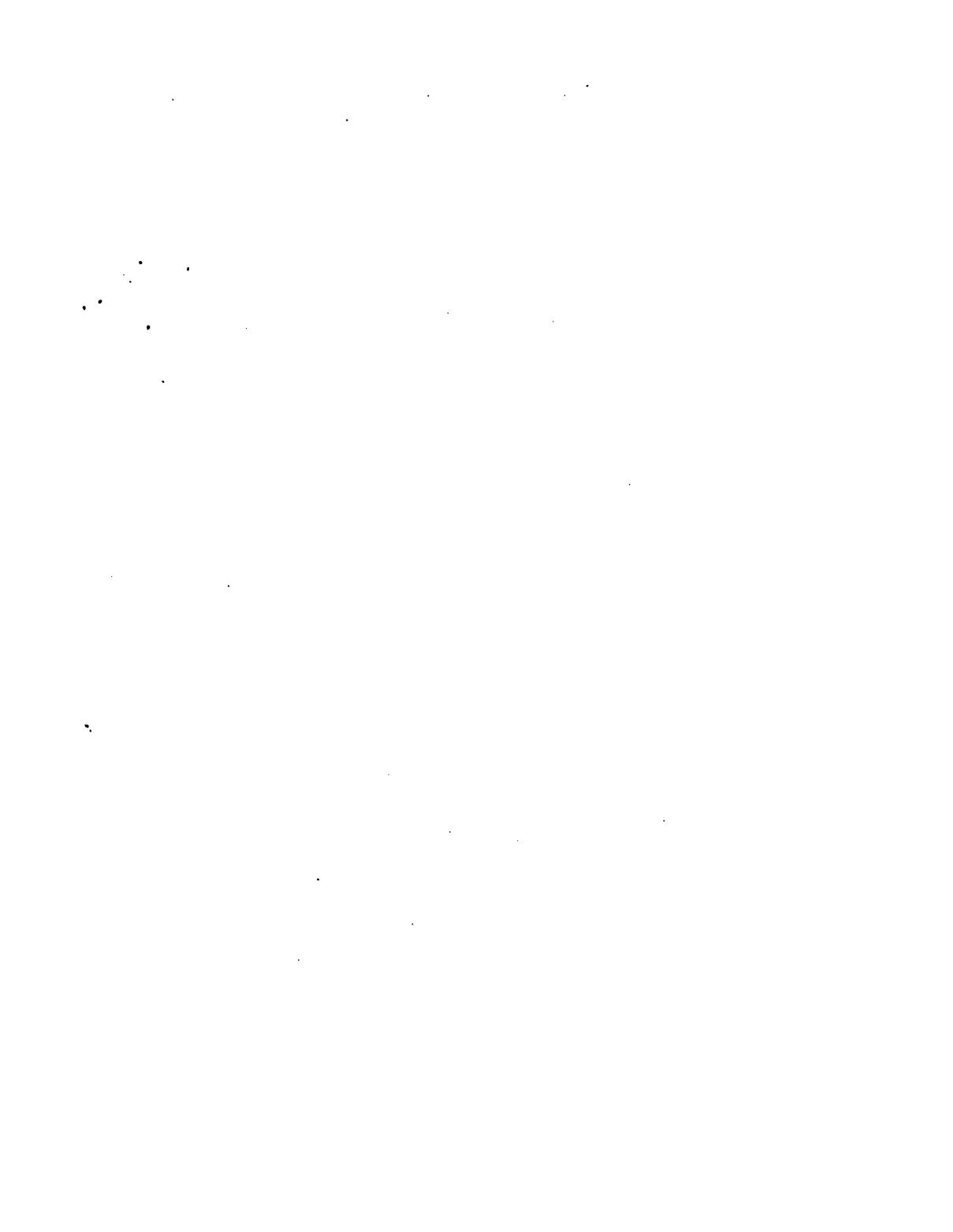
PROCEEDINGS, 1907-8



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**CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF SCOTLAND**



# CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND



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PROCEEDINGS 1907-8

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EDINBURGH  
H. & J. PILLANS & WILSON, 86 HANOVER STREET  
1908



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## MEETING HELD AT GLASGOW,

On SATURDAY, 16th NOVEMBER 1907.

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THE ELEVENTH GENERAL MEETING of the ASSOCIATION was held in the Humanity Class Room, Glasgow University, on Saturday, 16th November 1907. The President, Professor G. G. RAMSAY, LL.D., took the Chair at 10.30 A.M. There was a large attendance when the Hon. Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting. After these had been approved of, the Secretary intimated a number of apologies for absence from members unable to be present.

The Annual Reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer were submitted, and on the motion of the President were adopted by the meeting. These statements are printed in the Appendix.

Vacancies in the Council of the Association were filled by the appointment of Mr ALEXANDER EMSLIE, Keith, Mr GEORGE LYELL, Edinburgh, Mr MURRAY, Kilmarnock, and Miss PETERSON, Edinburgh.

The Local Committee for St Andrews was re-appointed, and the meetings of the Association to be held in 1908 were fixed as follows:—St Andrews, 14th March; Edinburgh, 14th November.

The Secretary then moved the addition to Rule 3 of the Association of which he had given notice, viz., "Graduates in Arts of the Scottish Universities with Honours in Classics shall have the right of Membership free of Subscription for one year." Mr LOBBAN said that the Council had received his suggestion very favourably, and had asked him to bring it before this meeting of Association. The object he had in view was to try to gain the active interest and support of many who would be likely to further by personal effort the objects of the Association. He asked the co-operation of the Classical Professors.

Mr G. BUCKLAND GREEN, Edinburgh, seconded the motion.

Professor DAVIES, Glasgow, in supporting, made the suggestion that a special notice, setting forth briefly the objects of the Association, should be posted in a conspicuous form in the Universities.

The President supported the motion and proposed, in addition, that a Committee of young classical graduates be appointed at each centre with a view to bringing the claims of the Association from year to year before those who had just graduated. This was seconded by Professor PHILLIMORE, and the Secretary's motion, together with the proposals of Professor DAVIES and the President, received the unanimous approval of the meeting.

A motion by Dr HEARD, Edinburgh, was also adopted that the Council be authorised to appoint a small Committee to work along with a Committee of The Classical Association with reference to the pronunciation of Greek.

At 11 A.M. the President introduced the public business by delivering the following address.

## ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It gives me the greatest pleasure to see you all here to-day, and to be able, however imperfectly, to fill the position in which your kindness has again placed me. I return to this class-room, unhappily, as an outsider; but my interest in the studies which culminate in this class-room and in those who work in it or work up to it, whether as teachers or as scholars, is as great as ever; and I feel more than ever that at this moment there is in the field of classical education in Scotland abundant of good work that needs to be done, as well by the outside as by the inside man.

Had I to-day a regular presidential address to deliver, I should find plenty of material ready to my hand; but, as you are aware, my main task to-day is to deliver you a message—a sympathetic classical message—from a sister university over the seas, conveyed to us through one who was for seven years my fellow-worker in the Humanity Chair, who is bound to me by the strongest personal friendship, and who has now made good his position as one of the foremost and most influential representatives of classical learning and classical teaching at the Antipodes.

Had I time to-day, I should ask you to turn your faces once more to the great land of progress in the West, and point to the land of huge trusts, huge accidents, huge fortunes, and huge bankruptcies, to show not only what excellent classical learning is being developed in that country, but also with what determination the classical idea of education is being pushed to the front on the very ground which those indifferent to classical learning here would deny to it—namely, that of its direct and permanent utility in all those great walks of life in which man

has to look to mind and trained capacity to furnish him with the instruments of success; indeed, of every calling above that of the hewer of wood and the drawer of water. I can do no more at present than give the references; but I would advise all my sceptical educational friends to get hold of two interesting pamphlets under the title of *Symposia*, held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, forming part of the proceedings of two Classical Conferences, one held in March 1906, the other in March 1907. The first of these has for its subject "The value of Humanistic and especially Classical Studies as a preparation for the Study of Medicine and of Engineering"; the second, after the recent example of one of our own great judges, supports the same thesis for the profession of Law: the arguments in both cases being based upon a practical analysis of the kind of mental equipment actually needed and employed in these three professions.

These papers touch on many points that might raise fruitful discussions among ourselves; but I should like, in the few minutes at my disposal, to turn your attention to a matter of immediate practical importance, which has been pressed upon me within the last few weeks, alike from the East and from the West of Scotland, and on which I should particularly like to have papers presented for consideration at an early meeting of our Association. I refer to the conditions recently laid down for Secondary Schools in Scotland for the obtaining of the Intermediate and Leaving Certificates.

I know this is a burning question in many schools already; and I should like to approach it, first, with a sense of gratitude to the Department for the comprehensive grasp with which the whole field of Secondary Education is being now brought, for the first time, into rational order and correct system; and secondly, with full appreciation of the difficulties which have to be encountered by an educational authority whose aim is at once to provide a curriculum which is just and educationally sound for all, and yet at the same time is anxious to leave room

for that amount of elasticity which is absolutely essential if the interests of the highest type of scholar or scientist—that type which from a national point of view, is the most valuable type of all—are not to be sacrificed to the supposed all-round necessities of the mediocre many.

The point, of course, to which my remarks are mainly, but by no means wholly, directed, is the influence which is likely to be exercised upon Greek—and if on Greek, then on Latin also—by the proposed arrangements for the Intermediate Certificate. The possession of the Intermediate Certificate is in future to be a necessary condition of eligibility for the Leaving Certificate, and so of entrance to the Universities.

I am here trenching upon a subject, part of which was most ably put before the Association at our Aberdeen meeting in March last by Mr George A. Morrison and Mr William Riddoch, in papers which you have read in our "Proceedings;" and a most interesting discussion, pretty nearly unanimous in its tone, ensued; but the question is one which vitally affects the whole course of secondary education in Scotland, and I am anxious that it should receive further consideration in all our places of meeting.

And the matter is more urgent now than it was then, as we now have authoritative light thrown upon the whole scheme by the new Regulations for Grants to Secondary Schools issued upon the 5th July 1907. That short document fulfils the hope which we have so long cherished that all branches of higher education should in future be equally recognised by the State; but by very reason of that financial help, and of the conditions on which that help is to be given, it places the whole of secondary education in Scotland under the yoke—shall I say at the mercy?—of a firmly fixed curriculum such as has never been applied, I believe, to any form or stage of education in Scotland, much less in any other part of the United Kingdom.

I trust that at our next meeting this question may be

thoroughly taken up. It is far too important for me to attempt to dispose of it to-day, nor have I, as yet, the requisite knowledge. But I wish to put this before the Association as a matter of prime importance, and I beg that some of those who have the needed experience, and who feel free to say what they know, may take up the subject practically at our next meeting.

Meantime, I wish now to say this—I think that the curriculum suggested—I hope very much I may use that word rather than the word “enforced”—is an admirable curriculum. I do not suppose that any one of us could in cold blood lay down a better curriculum. I know well what are the difficulties of framing such a curriculum—for I had once the honour, in conjunction with a noted educationist, of laying down an important section of the Scotch Code. I know also how absolutely necessary it is to lay down stringent conditions as to efficiency in every stage of a course. But I also know how undesirable, how impossible, it is to lay down, without infinite harm, a stringent Draconian rule to be applied in all cases alike to the most variable of all phenomena—the capabilities of the growing mind. A system which attempts this, without paying regard to the baffling varieties of capacity, of predilection, of previous environment, present circumstances, and of future aim, is foredoomed to failure; and I cannot but feel that any plan, however excellent, which lays down that all pupils *must* learn all the same things, *must* begin each at a particular age, *must* pass particular examinations at certain fixed intervals, and *must* never be allowed to attempt *this* till they have already accomplished *that*, is open to the gravest suspicion. This idea is contrary to all experience. Any one who has been through a great school in which promotion is regulated by merit—as in the great English schools—knows that one boy will run up in three years as many classes as an average boy will run up in six, and will have picked up by the way all sorts of knowledge which the other boy will never pick up at all.

If, for instance, regulations are made which prevent practically a boy, however clever, from beginning Greek till he is fifteen, what are we to say of a young relative of mine who had produced at that age really finished compositions in Latin and Greek, both in prose and verse? Is Scotland to be supposed incapable of producing boys of genius? Is the boy of really superior capacity to be compelled for years to waste time in his own subject, perhaps the highest, because he must go through the necessary quantum of drawing or singing or science for which he may have no aptitude at all? and *vice versa* with the science scholar? I may perhaps be permitted to quote my own case. I don't believe I ever wasted one hour at school—in fact not half enough. I was far too mediocre a boy to afford to extend myself over a range of subjects for which I had no capacity to the detriment of those for which I had some. I have no doubt I am a most half-educated person: but I have good cause to be thankful for it. I have never failed to thank a kindly providence that I was never forced to learn to draw; and my neighbours have had still more reason to be thankful that I never was taught to sing. And I can say this with absolute certainty: that if I had been brought up rigidly on the system now adumbrated for the youth of Scotland, I never should have had the remotest chance of rising to be Professor of Humanity in this university. The same applies to all the great prizes which in this country are to be won by higher examination. What chance could a boy have, rigidly held to an all-round code fixed for an average, or poor average, boy, of winning a scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge, or a place in the open Examinations for the public service?

I have noticed with much bewilderment the recent rise of an educational fetish which has laid hold of the popular mind. I don't know where the phrase originated, but I see that everybody, from H.M. Inspectors downwards, is always talking of a "well-balanced" course of education. Gentlemen, what is "a

well-balanced course of education"? I greatly prefer the phrase that occurs in the Minute of 7th July last, "a well-ordered course of education." That is an idea we can all commend. But where exactly does the principle of the balance come in? A balance, I take it, is meant to secure that one weight is an equipoise to another. If the two sides do not equipoise, you must either add something to the lighter side, or take off something from the heavier side. How is this applicable to education? To do the former, when you have put in the main essentials, is to overload the course; and I rejoice to see that the Minute strongly condemns over-loading. To do the latter is to maim the course, and make it barren and unfruitful for the most capable minds. There is yet a third course, worse than either, which is so to pare down each content in the heavier side as to reduce the educative value of every one of the ingredients, and to introduce exactly that whittling down to spasmodic smattering, that shallow pretence of omniscience, which is deprecated by all educationists. The truth is that the "balance" theory strikes at the root of all sound learning. It implies either that if you have too much of one really essential subject you must correct that by having too much also of another which may be less essential, or for which the learner may have no bent; or you must reduce all the subjects alike to the point of inefficiency. That is the principle on which many men wreck their lives: those men (and I must plead guilty to having been one of the number) who, because they are over-worked mentally, seek to balance this by over-working their bodies; because they are jaded by their period of work, try to balance this by over-exertion in their time of holiday, and scamper up all the mountains of Switzerland in three weeks, because they are worn out by six months of hard office or teaching work. No! that principle is as bad for the body as for the mind.

What then is the alternative? Not less freedom of curri-

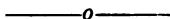
culum, less variety of alternatives, but greater freedom of curriculum : greater play, greater elasticity of subjects, and of time devoted to each subject, to suit equally the dull mind and the capable mind ; the mind that has literary instincts, the mind that has scientific instincts ; the boy who has the capacity and the resources to be able to look forward to reaching the highest stages of mental development, in whatever subjects suit him, and pursue them to the end, and the boy whose capacity and necessities call on him to aim at a low level, and to embark on actual life at an earlier age. It is as absurd to suppose that all minds, all characters, can be made into silk purses, as to condemn all to be content with having started with nothing better than sow's ears ; and every sound educational scheme must leave room for every quality of material between the two.

I am far from saying that these considerations have been lost sight of in our newly proposed sketch of future secondary studies ; but I think it errs in that direction. I maintain that we must press for their more complete and more elastic development ; and I trust that the members of this Association, without any special regard to their interest in classical teaching, but with equal regard to the interests of all subjects, and with full regard to the diversities of human minds and the diversities of human conditions, will bring all their experience and all their knowledge to bear upon the right solution of this most difficult and most urgent of national educational problems.

## The State of Classical Education in New Zealand.

BY PROFESSOR BROWN,

Victoria College, Wellington, New Zealand.



WHEN Professor Ramsay suggested to me, in a letter I received from him in the latter part of last year, that I should write something to be read at the next meeting of the Classical Association of Scotland, I assented to his proposal, not so much from a conviction that I could say much that would be of practical value to the Association, but from an idea that the members might be pleased to know that there is one, at least, in these distant parts who takes a keen interest in their proceedings. The annual volume of *Transactions of the Scottish Association*, as well as that of the corresponding Association in England, has been of great interest and no little value to several of us, who, in a new country, are endeavouring to carry out what seems to us to be best in the traditions of classical education in the old land.

Owing to the striking personality of our late Premier, Mr Seddon, to the prominent part that the colony took in the

despatch of contingents to the South African War, and to the more recent successes of the "All Blacks" in the football field, New Zealand is more prominently before the minds of the inhabitants of the old country than when I left it, seven years ago. Our many fleeting visitors from Europe and America are kind enough to repay the hospitality which they are sure to receive in New Zealand with laudations of its institutions and arrangements, so that the average inhabitant, who fails to realise that good breeding forbids any criticism of a host as long as the guest is under his roof, has come to the conclusion that the country is ahead of the old world in almost every particular. This is certainly not the case, though the work which has been accomplished here during the sixty or seventy years of the colony's existence is marvellous, and reflects the greatest credit on the energy and mental acumen of the inhabitants. New Zealand was fortunate in being originally settled by a remarkably good stock of pioneers, who were inspired with high ideas as to what constitutes the true well-being of a community. Scotchmen are everywhere, but naturally predominate in Otago, which was a distinctly Scotch settlement, in which the Scotch accent is still heard amongst the children and grandchildren of the original settlers. Canterbury was in its origin English—the leading streets of Christchurch are named after bishops and other famous men of the English Church. Wellington—where I am—and Auckland are more cosmopolitan, and have no special characteristics.

One result of the high character of the pioneers of settlement in New Zealand was that from the very first satisfactory arrangements were made for education. This is particularly true of the South Island, where considerable reserves of land were set aside for higher education. Though the North Island is now, perhaps, not far behind the South, the impetus of the original start still survives, and the youth of the South Island continue to gain scholastic successes out of all proportion to their

numbers. Something, of course, may be due to the grit and racial enthusiasm for education of the Scotch element in Otago.

Primary education is well organised all over the colony, and is—as far as a university teacher can judge—satisfactory. Under the present energetic Inspector-General of Education the syllabus for primary instruction has been considerably enlarged by the inclusion of various subjects of a more concrete, more practical—but not necessarily uneducative—character. New Zealand will always depend for its prosperity on agriculture, and the bulk of the population will always be settled on the land. It is eminently right and proper therefore that children whose lives will be spent in the country should be taught country things, so long as that is not done to the detriment of the literary side of their education, by which alone they can be brought into contact with the world at large and the higher aspirations of humanity.

Primary Schools are purely secular, though religious education may be given in non-school hours. Owing to the practical difficulty, or rather impossibility of this, there is a feeling amongst a considerable section of the community that some elementary form of Bible teaching should be introduced. The ignorance of the Bible on the part of young New Zealand is appalling; and even from a literary point of view it is difficult to see how any English-speaking person can be said to be educated who does not possess some knowledge of a volume which is bound up with the history of our race and literature. I find this ignorance of the Bible a hindrance even in the teaching of Latin. But I fear that unless a radical change of feeling takes place, of which there is at present no sign, the State is not likely to do anything to make Bible reading an essential part of primary education.

Secondary education is fairly well organised, though I do not think that it is in as satisfactory a position as it is in the old country. The main weakness of our secondary education

is, I think, that it is too hurried. For several reasons, which I need not state, pupils stay too long at the Primary Schools; and when the brighter boys and girls are promoted to the Secondary Schools—owing to their gaining scholarships, with which New Zealand is now well provided—they find that they have too little time allowed them to make much of the higher subjects. The great majority of my students have had at most three years at a Secondary School; not a few have had even less, though some have had more. The result is that secondary education is apt to become a cram, not a process, as true higher education ought to be; and as a consequence too much of the work of our university colleges is of an elementary character and is built on an unstable foundation.

Here, as in Scotland, the university holds the key to the position, and by raising the standard of the Matriculation Examination could very soon produce the same beneficial effect that has been caused in Scotland by the institution of the Leaving Certificate and Preliminary Examinations. Something may ultimately be done in this direction; but anyone who proposed to screw up the Matriculation Examination would have to face the familiar cry that he was shutting the doors of the university colleges against the poor man's child. As such a proposal would almost necessarily proceed from the professorial element on the university Senate, and would certainly receive their support, we should have, in addition, to face the cry that we were endeavouring to make our own work easier by throwing it on the schools. It would not be obvious to such critics that the almost necessary corollary to a raising of the Entrance Examination would be a corresponding rise in the degree standard, entailing additional work on the professors—but work which they would welcome.

Another weakness of our secondary system is that, owing to the very great facilities granted to all to proceed to Secondary Schools by education bursaries, free places, and so on, we are

probably giving secondary instruction to not a few who are not fitted to profit by it. It seems to me that it would pay the State or the community in the long run far better if it educated thoroughly well a smaller number of carefully selected pupils, than a vast horde indifferently. The influence of such highly educated citizens would permeate the social organism, and have a much better effect on the well-being of the community as a whole, than a large number of semi-educated youths who have permitted the attractions of a so-called higher education to divert them from those positions in life for which they are naturally fitted.

The University of New Zealand is a corporate body, consisting of a Senate of twenty-four members, which controls the university examinations and grants degrees, but does not do any teaching. The actual teaching is done by the four independent University Colleges of Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, and Auckland. These colleges have adequate, if not very extensive, staffs of professors, and, generally speaking, may be said to be efficient, and quite competent to do their appointed work. In many ways the university colleges are a credit to New Zealand, and few countries with a population of under a million inhabitants have such facilities for university education as New Zealand now possesses. Like most institutions of the same kind elsewhere, the colleges have no superabundance of money, and more funds will have to be granted to them if they are to keep up with the times, particularly in the direction of science. It is not every educational reformer who realises the greater expense of modern scientific education.

Each of the colleges teaches for the ordinary Arts, Science, and Law degrees, but by a wise understanding come to lately, specialisation has been apportioned amongst them. Dunedin specialises in Medicine, Christchurch in Engineering, Wellington in Law and Science, Auckland in Music and Mining. This is a wise economy of resources; and though it may tell hard on some

students in a widely scattered country like this, is undoubtedly in the interests of thoroughness.

There are many features of interest in the university and college organisation of New Zealand, but I have only time to say something about one of these. As some of the members of the Association may be aware, the degree examinations of our university are conducted—except in the case of some of the Law and most of the Medical examinations—by English examiners. This point is often misunderstood by outsiders, and for one who does not clearly understand the exact position it is easy to say that a university which is not competent to conduct its examinations itself is unworthy of the name. There are two ways in which this apparently anomalous system has been and is defended.

It is held by many New Zealanders that the employment of eminent home examiners gives our degree a status and a standard which it would not otherwise possess. I do not think that there is much in this argument. For one thing, very few people know anything about the arrangements of the University of New Zealand, and slump it along with the other colonial universities, which do their own examining. Very few graduates of the university have got credit for this fact, I take it, outside of New Zealand. Further, I do not think that the standard of the New Zealand degrees is higher owing to the employment of home examiners. I am convinced that if the examining could be done in the colony the standard in several subjects would be higher than it is, and that the standard all round would be quite as good. As a preliminary to sitting for the University Examination, students have to pass the annual College Examination, which serves to weed out the incompetent; but any candidate who appears to have a chance of passing the Home Examination is allowed to pass. If this annual College Examination were the actual examination for degrees—I do not imply that it ought to be—it is certain that

not only all doubtful candidates—many of whom succeed in passing the University Examination—but others, better than they, would be failed by the colleges. As the annual College Examination at present is of little real value, it is obviously unfair for any one college to make it too hard, and it has been proposed to abolish it altogether. It is, however, the only hold that the colleges have over their students, and does serve the purpose of correcting the great vice of the present system—the entire separation of the teaching and the examining bodies.

The only argument by which this employment of outside examiners can be defended is that of necessity. It may be assumed that the only competent degree examiners in New Zealand are the professors and lecturers of the colleges, and there are obvious and serious difficulties in the way of allowing a professor in one college to examine and decide the fate of the students of the others. If he sets a paper on the lines of the work he has been doing with his own students, he can hardly be fair to those who have not come under his own tuition; if, from excess of conscientiousness, he avoids what he has most insisted on in his own lectures, he falls into the Charybdis of unfairness to his own pupils. Further, I doubt whether the democracy of New Zealand, which, like all small democracies, is exceedingly suspicious, would agree to anything of the kind.

At present it seems impossible to devise any satisfactory method of conducting the degree examinations in New Zealand, and for that reason alone some of us who would like to see a change in this direction acquiesce in the present arrangement. Its advantages are that it is fair all round, it brings us into contact with the ideas of many of the leading teachers at home, and it relieves the Professors of the responsibility of definitely failing their own students. Its disadvantages are that at least three months must elapse before the results are known; that the granting of a degree depends almost entirely on the passing of an examination, and not on a student's regular work under his

professor ; and that the examining is entirely divorced from the teaching. The last objection is by far the most important, and my experience has shown me that it is a serious hindrance to effective teaching. The individual professor has no control over the subjects taught ; he teaches under a syllabus drawn up for him by an outside body ; he has the Home Examination continually before his mind, and it requires a very strong man to avoid teaching what will pay in preference to what he considers essential. I can illustrate what I mean from my own subject. The books which I read with my students are not necessarily those I wish to read, and into which I can throw myself heart and soul. I am compelled to spend more time on the teaching of Latin prose than I should be inclined to do in the case of such students as I have to deal with. A knowledge of Roman life and history, which, with my Scotch traditions, I consider one of the most important elements in the teaching of Latin, is not required for our Pass Degree ; so that I am compelled to leave Roman antiquities and history untaught, except in so far as they may enter into the comprehension of the books I may be reading with the class. Each university teacher has his own idiosyncracies, and is only at his best if he is allowed to carry them out. All systems of examination are apt to interfere with this, but none so much, I think, as the present system of degree examinations in New Zealand.

I should not like to leave the Association with the impression that I consider our system to be a failure. As far as an examination alone can be a test for fitness for a degree it is a great success. Instances of glaring unfairness are extremely rare, and the students who fail, as a rule, are those who ought to fail. The home examiners take the greatest possible interest in their work, and many of their comments show that they have a high opinion of the state of university education in New Zealand. This in itself is very encouraging, and, perhaps, worth some sacrifice of individuality.

I now come to the present position of classics in New Zealand education.

Greek is practically dead in New Zealand as far as the schools are concerned ; but Latin occupies a satisfactory position in the school and university curriculum. This is due in the main to the arrangements made by the university for its examinations, which naturally control the arrangements of the schools. The subject is safeguarded in much the same way as at home. It is not compulsory in the Matriculation Examination, but a candidate who does not take Latin (or Greek) must take an extra subject. In the examination for Junior Scholarships—assigned by the university to entrance candidates, and eagerly competed for—Latin counts 1500. This is more than is allowed for any other subject except Mathematics, which has the same number of marks. Science receives 1200 marks, Greek, English, and German have 1000 marks each, and French 850. The extra marks were given to German some years ago from a desire to further the study of that language, which was little taught in New Zealand. Latin (or Greek) is compulsory in the Arts degree, the only other compulsory subject being Mathematics ; but alongside of the B.A. stands the B.Sc.—a degree of much the same kind, but admitting of more Science, and requiring seven subjects instead of six as in the B.A.—for which Latin is not required. This arrangement, although it has led to the establishment of a Science degree of a very general non-specialised type, makes it impossible for any one to say that Latin is compulsory for a degree in New Zealand University. The B.Sc. is a good Pass Degree for any one who has a leaning towards Science, and ought to be taken more advantage of than is at present the case. The great majority of our students seem to prefer the B.A. with its compulsory Latin (or Greek).

These arrangements, it will be obvious, are an inheritance from the older universities. The practical outcome is that almost every boy and girl in New Zealand who receives a

higher education is taught a certain amount of Latin at school, and that most of them get some more at college. How long the present system will survive the constant fire of criticism to which it is subjected is far from certain. One may be perfectly conscious of the rights of one's case but feel at the same time that force of numbers may throw one down. The present university senate has of late years pronounced on more than one occasion in favour of the present order of things; but it is a changing body, as one-half of its twenty-four members retires every third year, subject, however, to re-election. New Zealand is very like Greece in this respect that, as it is a small country, movements of all sorts, political, social, and scholastic, take place with much greater rapidity than they do in the much larger and more populous countries of Europe. A strong individual has much more power in New Zealand than he has at home; he knows and comes into contact with practically everybody, like Socrates at Athens; and an advocate of a decided modernisation, as he would call it, of our educational system, would meet with a more favourable hearing than an upholder of the older—and what we consider the sounder—paths. New Zealand, it ought to be remembered, is year by year looking more and more to America for its inspiration. The differences between the New Zealander and the native of Great Britain are mainly American characteristics, and the type of character that will ultimately be developed here will be more American than English. Except in the older and more aristocratic colleges of Yale and Harvard, classics in the United States get very little of those artificial encouragements which they receive in the British Dominions and in Germany. If they flourish and prosper there, as they are said to do, it is because of their intrinsic excellence as means of education, as interesting in themselves, and as necessary bits of knowledge for the understanding of the development of the Western World.

No member of the Classical Association will be afraid to

fight the battle on these lines ; but to do so successfully, in New Zealand at anyrate, it will be necessary to make classical education more practical and lasting than it is at present. The disciplinary value of even an elementary training in Latin may be enormous, but this fact is not obvious either to the pupil or to his parents, and people here are not so ready to take things on trust as they are in the old country.

It must always amuse an upholder of the classics to find that Latin is almost invariably picked out as the one useless subject in the Secondary School curriculum. Yet all the subjects are more or less useless in after life, all are more or less easily forgotten, unless a man's profession or calling or hobby renders it necessary for him to employ one or other of them. No subject taught in Secondary Schools is really so useless to the ordinary individual, and certainly none is so easily forgotten, as Mathematics ; but the position of that branch of study in education seems secured merely by the fact that certain sciences and practical arts are in the long run based on Mathematics. Some knowledge of Chemistry and Botany may be essential to every truly educated man : but these sciences are only of practical value to the chemist and botanist, and only through him to the world at large. In a far away country like New Zealand the percentage of people who ever use the French or German they have been taught at school is infinitesimal, but no objection seems to be taken to the study of modern languages.

We are thus brought round to the fact that in the choice of Secondary School subjects we must select those which are of highest educational value and at the same time of some practical utility ; and it would not be difficult to show that to the ordinary individual, setting aside that subject which he employs in his daily life, some real knowledge of Latin is more useful, in the higher sense of that word, than anything else he has been taught at school or college.

The knowledge, however, must, I am convinced, be real,

more real than it is in most cases at present. The scholar or university student must be brought to look upon Latin as Latin, not as something into which he has to translate English. That the latter is the view of a very large number of students, not merely in New Zealand, I have long felt, and it seems to me that if I am right a great deal of our teaching is and has been utterly futile. Many years ago in examining, as I did for several years, large batches of Leaving Certificate papers, I was much struck by the fact that in a large number of schools in the North-East of Scotland the majority of the pupils could write very fair Latin prose, but were quite unable to translate Latin into English, that is, to read Latin. The number of students who fail in sight translation at home and in New Zealand is far greater than it ought to be, and no one can look through a large number of grammar papers without coming to the conclusion that a very large proportion of pupils have come to look at Latin from the English-Latin point of view. This has always seemed to me to be the *reductio ad absurdum* of our present methods of teaching Latin, and is due, I think, to two things. One is the fact that our pupils have not only never spoken Latin, but have failed to realise that it was once a spoken language; and the other is that their reading of Latin has been unduly curtailed, and their whole point of view distorted by the claims of Latin prose.

That the majority of young pupils fail to realise that Latin was once spoken has been brought home to me quite lately by my experience in connection with the Latin paper in our Junior Scholarship Examination. In revising this paper I had to go through some 110 papers from all parts of New Zealand, the work of our most promising pupils. I had set a question to test the candidates' knowledge of the pronunciation of V in Latin, based on the well-known confusion of *cave ne eas* with *caueas*. Very few candidates stated that the words were confused because they were pronounced alike; the majority of

those who attempted the question said that, as Latin had no separate symbol for V and U, the words came to be confounded because they were written alike. They seemed to think that pronunciation is due to the way in which a language is written, and not *vice versa*.

It would not be impossible to introduce some oral element into the teaching of Latin, as has been proposed, I think, by Professor Postgate amongst others. I must confess that I do not do so myself, as my hands are tied by examination requirements, and I have no time for experiments—my classes only meet three hours per week—but I read as much of Cicero's Letters and Terence with them as I can, and I intend next year to make them shut their books now and then and translate as I read out the Latin. The reading of Cicero's Letters, and of Terence or Plautus, does undoubtedly teach students that there was a Latin which could be spoken; and translation of a sentence read as a whole may help to teach the other important lesson that the phrase or clause, and not the individual word, is the true element of speech. Something also might be done by the re-introduction into school reading of the Colloquies of Erasmus, one or two of which appear in an excellent book for rapid reading called "DIES ROMANI," published lately by Arnold.

There are obvious difficulties in the way of carrying on a conversation in Latin with a class. It will lead in the first instance to shoals of barbarisms and a vast amount of bad grammar, and calls for a greater knowledge of his subject, and more imagination, than is possessed by the average teacher of Latin. But it is already done in modern languages, and the interest created and the stimulus given would be great.

In what I have said about Latin prose, I know that I am going counter to the opinions of many, if not all, whose views I hold in the highest esteem; but distance lends safety to temerity, and I should like to submit my opinion to the criticism of the members of the Association.

I am not blind to the educative value of Latin prose in the case of good pupils who have a real feeling for language ; even in the case of those who never get beyond the canine stage I do not deny the training in accuracy—or attempted accuracy—and the value of the endeavour to transform the idiom of a modern into the idiom of an ancient language ; I am even prepared to admit that the writing of elegant Latin prose is the true test of a scholar, and am making no attack on the position of Latin prose in the education of our finer minds, or in the Honours Courses at the Universities. I am speaking of the ordinary schoolboy and of the "Pass" student who, after laborious hours and nights spent in groaning, never succeeds in writing Latin prose at all ; who, because of it, comes to curse the very name of Latin ; and who, even if he retains his Virgil and Horace, certainly disposes of his Latin prose books to the second-hand dealer as soon as he gets his degree, or has given up all hope of ever doing so.

Even granting that the ordinary "pass" man does get something in return for his labour,—I do not believe that he gains nearly as much as is often said,—it is certainly at the expense of Latin as Latin. His time for reading Latin is greatly curtailed, and he fails to gain that familiarity with it that he might otherwise have acquired, for my own experience here in connection with Greek has shown me that translating into a language does not help one to read the language itself. The power to read Latin—combined with some appreciation of the beauties of Latin literature—might continue with a student all his life and add to its richness ; he would be able, possibly to recognise, and certainly to translate, a Latin quotation when he came across one ; he might gain some real knowledge of Rome and Roman History. If we could produce these results in an appreciable degree, much of the ordinary criticism of the teaching of Latin would disappear, and I feel certain that if the language is to maintain its ground in the new countries, it can

only be by lightening the load which the Latin student has to carry.

In my own position with students who can in many cases barely translate sentences into Latin correctly, the amount of time I have to give to Latin prose in order to fulfil university requirements does seem to me to be out of all proportion to the value of the subject. Much of the same training can be got from the careful translation of Latin into English, with this advantage, that most students of any education whatever have some idea of what correct English is, or at least can be taught what it is, whilst owing to the very narrow range of their Latin reading they have no idea what good Latin is, except in so far as their teacher has given them certain general rules, which they carry out in a more or less mechanical way.

The translation of not too difficult English sentences I should always insist on, even in the case of the "pass" man; Latin prose I should drop altogether, or, if that appears too revolutionary, I should make a pass in Latin depend on sight translation, not on Latin prose, as at present. I have no desire to make a pass in Latin easier—I simply desire to give prominence to what seems to me to be most important. Even as it is, sight translation bulks more largely with us in New Zealand than it did in Scotland when I taught in Glasgow University, and in the case of Honours it bulks as largely as set books, one entire paper out of three being devoted to it. This is due to the Cambridge influence which predominated at the drawing up of our original university regulations, and is one of the best features in our Honours Course.

Greek, as I have said, is practically dead in New Zealand as far as the schools are concerned. I have had, however, an encouraging number of students, almost all of whom I have taught from the start from the Greek-English point of view, with a fair amount of success. Given an intelligent student who knows some Latin, I have little difficulty in getting him to read

Euripides and the easier parts of Thucydides after not more than one session of six months. In the case of those who go in for Honours, even their prose does not seem to suffer in the long run, and in the case of one student, who has just gone to Cambridge after gaining First Class Honours here, his tutor considers that his Greek prose will ultimately be a strong paper, though I had never insisted on it much, and had preferred to read a great deal of Greek with him. This particular student could read Greek with perfect ease after three years, though he had not in any way distinguished himself at school, except perhaps in athletics. The Association will be aware that the English Classical Association has seriously considered the application to Greek of such methods as I have suggested for Latin as a possible means of popularising and keeping alive the study of that greatest of literary and spiritual forces.

In any consideration of the position of the classics in education I think we ought to keep the "pass" man before our minds. The brilliant man will get on whatever we do, and naturally elicits the interest of his teacher, and I imagine that the higher study of the classics will never die out. Certain types of mind will always devote themselves to these more abstruse studies, as they will to the more uninviting higher mathematics. The serious problem is to make his classical studies alive to the ordinary individual, and I have said what I have said mainly because I think that we fail to do so at present. I have been much struck since I came out here with the large number of people I meet, who, having got a little Latin in their youth, wish that they had got more. Interest in the classics undoubtedly returns with advancing years. This is not true to anything like the same extent of any other subject in the school curriculum, and is in itself an argument in favour of keeping Latin in something like its present position in the education of youth. It is a further reason for endeavouring to give to all the power of reading Latin, for it is the longing to read Latin, not to write Latin prose, which returns.

It is not easy to think of the position of Latin in modern education without considering the claims of Science. There is one point to which my attention has been called since I came to New Zealand which is not so apparent at home, though it is undoubtedly in existence there too.

The legitimate culmination of all study is original work, and no university can be said to be fully discharging its function unless it makes provision for Original Research. In this respect scientific have a great advantage over linguistic studies in New Zealand, and in almost all new countries, where it is possible for students who are so inclined to carry out original researches in the various departments of science such as are quite impossible in the case of languages. It will always be true that even the most elementary work in languages requires more preliminary training than corresponding work in science. This fact is of universal application, and so far linguistic studies will always be handicapped from the point of view of the ordinary investigator. It is especially true of Latin, which has been worked at so long that only fragments of useful knowledge are left for specially endowed inquirers to pick up. I believe I am also right in saying that the investigation of even a small point in grammar involves far more labour and time than the investigation of a corresponding point in botany or chemistry. I am not referring to epoch-making researches, but to such things as form the subject of the ordinary thesis for the doctorate.

In New Zealand a science man has two further advantages. A new country like this abounds in problems in local botany, zoology, and chemistry, which lie open to any competent person to investigate—problems which can only be investigated on the spot, and which are not necessarily difficult or intricate, but new, and for that reason original. Except in so far as the Maori language and Maori antiquities are concerned, the problems that lie open to a student of languages or history in New Zealand are the same as those in the old country. The second disadvan-

tage is the absence of libraries. It is not difficult or very expensive to equip a laboratory sufficient for the investigation of minor questions, but the discussion of almost any point in Latin involves access to a literature which New Zealand does not possess, and, for various reasons, is never likely to possess. Entire fields of original research are necessarily barred to the New Zealand Latinist or Hellenist, and he is forced back on the language itself. This is undoubtedly the greatest sacrifice which a scholar makes in going to any distant colony, and is the chief reason why so little original work is done by the teachers of languages in Australia and New Zealand.

The practical conclusion I have come to is that in New Zealand, and in other places similarly situated, languages must give place to science in respect of higher work, and ought to throw no obstacles in the way of the equipment of scientific laboratories and the furtherance of research in science, as far as is consistent with the maintenance of that efficiency to which they can attain. In languages and in several other Arts subjects we cannot at present in New Zealand go beyond the Honours stage, and I doubt whether, for the reasons hinted at, we shall ever be able to do so; in certain branches of science much good original work has already been done, and will always be done.

Professor DAVIES moved a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Brown for his paper. He said it contained a great deal that seemed to bear upon their own position at home.

## Unseen Translation as a Teaching Instrument.

BY PROFESSOR J. S. PHILLIMORE, M.A.,  
Glasgow University.

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THIS paper is intended to treat of Unseen translation as a teaching, not an examining, instrument. For the latter purpose its advantages are so evident, as a test of talents other than memory, that the makers of Unseen handbooks are commonly held to be among the worst enemies of the examiner. It does not follow that they are enemies of learning or teaching. Those of us who agree with that witness who told the University Commissioners that he considered competitive examination "a depressing and nugatory artifice" will perhaps think none the worse of the Unseen books. It is a crammer's friend. But cramming and competitive examinations are two equal and correlative evils. Can we in candour complain if the nugatory and depressing is countermined by the unwholesome, and yet fortifying, artifice? My only complaint against Unseen books for teaching purposes is that any published selection is rather rigid, and, unless the teacher himself has made it, suffers from the disadvantage of not being personal to him. Occasional papers of one's own choice are a handier form of the instrument. But

—whether book or occasional paper—what ought to be the character and purpose of the instrument? Neither to set traps nor to prepare against traps: that belongs to examination, which I maintain is an altogether foreign and hostile activity imposed on teachers *ab extra*. For teaching purposes the Unseen paper ought to be partly a packet of sample wares, partly a fragment of anthology, partly a collection of laboratory specimens. They may be lawfully chosen to exhibit an important point of idiom in its live state; still more lawfully, to illustrate a certain set of circumstances or phase of a civilisation, or a certain literary form; most lawfully of all, as loopholes or outlets upon literature. The first way—choosing a piece which strikingly exhibits some cardinal point of idiom in syntax—should enlist the imagination in the service of the memory. For example, if you can find a highly interesting passage of Tacitus, which at the same time offers specimens of how the silver writers press the adjective to supplement the poverty and stiffness of the Latin verb, you do far more than any grammar can do—for a young student, I mean—because you are obeying the golden maxim that in every literary (or aesthetic) matter the moment you get away from the concrete into the abstract the inquiry becomes unreal and unprofitable.

The second way is a good remedy against a mischief which our Preliminary Examinations seem inclined to canonise and perpetuate: the notion that many boys seem to acquire, that e.g. Latin is all about marching and fighting and besieging, or (as a great concession) sending ambassadors and making a treaty. Some years ago, when I was reading Herodas with an Honours Class and Theocritus with a Graduating Class, students from both told me with ingenuous surprise and pleasure that they had never suspected that any stuff of that kind was to be found in the classics. They were far from disconcerted at finding no mention of parasangs or light-armed troops. I am not going to argue now whether we do not traditionally choose rather unfriendly

and repulsive approaches to both languages, but only to argue that without dispossessing the consecrated page of *Anabasis* or page and a half of *Bellum Gallicum*, at the same time, Unseens can be serving as an anthology to exhibit little masterpieces complete, and also samples from pleasanter regions than a young student might ever suspect the classics to contain. Under the same head I place the function of a well-chosen Unseen in revealing sides of life and forms of humour. For example: Alciphron is not an author of great repute; but if you extract from Alciphron the amusing passage about the trick which a barber played on a parasite by shaving only one side of his face, Alciphron does for you by purely literary means what the German makers of educational toys do by their *Lehrmittel*. He puts you at home among the common familiarities of real life. The Greek Anthology is a treasure-house of pieces which will serve for this purpose. As a hackneyed example of the Unseen which may reveal the presence of humour in the classics let me instance Catullus' friend Arrius and his misfortunes with the aspirate. I remember doing that as an Unseen when a boy, and conceiving my earliest curiosity about Catullus. Needless to say, in all these cases the Unseen will be treated as a text to discourse upon: in all these cases, and so also in what I come to next, which is a much more important and much more contentious matter.

Anybody who, undeterred by a repellent title and attracted by a splendid English style, reads Rutherford's "Chapter in the History of Annotation," will get a very clear view of the two constituents of a literary education: rhetorical or stylistic training, and historical or scientific. What we call by the name of Byzantinism, a name that connotes a sterile pedantry, is the absolute domination of the rhetorical and stylistic. We nowadays make provision for this side by the teaching of composition; which, in so far as it is not merely a practice or a gymnastic for learning a language and so facilitating our access to a literature, is an exercise in logic and rhetoric—chiefly rhetoric.

Excessive attention paid to composition leads us dangerously near to Byzantinism in this way—that we are tempted rigorously and exclusively to define the canon of models for imitation, and to neglect or reject as unclean any literature, however historically important, which might endanger the narrow purity of the exercise. In France the disciples of Brunetière and Gaston Boissier are setting us a great example in taking the historical view of Roman Literature; let me cite M. René Pichon's "History of Latin Literature" from the origins right down to Boethius. I listened with despair to a sentence of Mr Asquith's Rectorial Address which suggested that all readable Latin literature came to an end with the Antonines. Not only is it immensely unsound and untrue, but, merely as politics, it is a very dangerous position to adopt when classical studies are threatened. There will always be those who will argue that if it is only as literary masterpieces that, say, the literature of the Augustan Age is to be studied, then literary masterpieces can be sought and found equally well in English or in French or in Italian. The unassailable ground that we ought to occupy is to say that Latin is the indispensable master-key to 1700 years of European history. It is good to read Cicero and Tacitus, and to be taught to admire the fulness, subtlety, and flexibility of the instrument which they forged and wielded. It is a good exercise, as drill, to try and put a piece of English into one or other style; perhaps it is the most searching test of Latinity possible. But it is better still to see how Cicero resembles or differs from St. Augustine. To do that, one must read both, and if composition did its full work we should apply its test also to both. But nobody could be called a master of English who could write a good imitation of Bacon and yet think the language of Newman and Ruskin a barbarous decadence. I have known students who will write gaily and glibly about the superiority of Augustan Latin and the decadence of Patristic, and yet be many centuries astray when they are invited to date

a given specimen of Latinity. I gave my Honours Class a taste of Prudentius in an Unseen, and about half of them guessed it to be Virgil! Now if a man is a "scholar" who can produce a page of Ciceronian, much more, I hold, is the man a "scholar" who can tell you of any given specimen of Latin "that is post-Augustan; that is fourth century; that is Latin of the twelfth century; that of the fifteenth century Humanists; this is Gaulish; that African." This implies something more than rhetorical aesthetic cultivation of an antiquarian ingenuity; it implies a furnished historical sense in language, and a fine equipment for either Modern History (so-called) or Modern Languages.

But I must not let my hobby of an enlarged, a vastly enlarged, range of reading, a range which allows no limits—except temporary and provisional—smaller than the limits of Latinity itself. I can apply my immediate topic of Unseens to what I have been pleading for, in a couple of sentences. The Unseen paper is the guide and pioneer to new regions. Properly expounded, a single page of Jerome, or Sidonius, or Boethius, or Alcuin, or Petrarch, or Erasmus is not only a lesson in the historical development of Latin, and a measure whereby to gauge, in a really critical spirit, the excellence of the classical period and the originality, or decadence, or skill in revival (whichever it happens to be) of the later movements of diction or evolution of literary forms, but a glance with the naked eye into history at some period or other. The results may be scanty enough. But if you can raise the curiosity of one pupil to go on one voyage of discovery; if you can even partially disabuse him of the obscurantist notion that from the Antonines to the Fall of Constantinople all is so dark as not even to be worth making visible, you will have done a service to every allied subject in Arts, and given the preparation which our colleagues in History, in English, and in Romance Languages have the right to require in students who start on the classical basis.

And if you object that there is a ludicrous disproportion between this horizon and the peepholes of Unseens, I confess that it is a humble, but I contend that it is the natural and the only available, beginning for an approach to the ideal breadth of view and study.

The PRESIDENT moved a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Phillimore for his paper. He thought few of them had been prepared for such a charming flight of fancy in connection with a subject so prosaic as Unseens. Not many of them were qualified to appreciate it in its entirety, or to follow the fine and subtle differences which distinguished the literature of seventeen different centuries. The analysis in the paper of the various points of view from which Unseens might be approached, struck him as original and interesting. The figure of the Unseen as a loophole into the wider world of reading was quite inspiring, and would no doubt be put into practice by teachers.

Professor HARDIE said the Unseen was one of those devices which were good or bad according to the use made of them. There were other things in the same category, for example, examinations. Examiners sometimes set injudicious papers, and students took unwholesome methods of preparing for them, and then examiners and examinations were denounced root and branch. It was the same with Unseens. They could be and were abused. But, on the other hand, a great deal could be taught by them. The Unseen was a literary exercise, and certain conditions had to be fulfilled if it was to be satisfactory. There should be sufficient time allowed to let it be done into reasonable English. When the paper was given back, faults of English should be pointed out as well as faults of construing. An Unseen paper not given back would not be a salutary thing. He admitted the desirability of extending the range of reading, with certain reservations. He had taken up

an author as late as Claudian, and with good results ; but this meant reading a good deal of his work, together with two or three lectures on his life and times. One Unseen passage would afford too slight a glimpse of a period of which pupils were otherwise ignorant.

With regard to the kind of passage set in the Preliminary Examination, he took a somewhat different view from that of Professor Phillimore. Interesting and amusing passages tended as a rule to be difficult, and difficult especially in vocabulary. But the object of the examination was not so much to test vocabulary as to discover whether the candidate could see his way through the syntax of a passage and make out its drift or argument intelligently. This examination was not an instrument of teaching, but a mere device to ascertain whether a pupil was capable of profiting from university instruction.

Dr HEARD said that to look through the loopholes that had been spoken of, and to be able to see anything, one must have a critical mind, and that could be best produced in a boy, he thought, by giving him a knowledge of some particular author, so complete, that he had a standard of excellence in his own mind. If a boy simply passed from one choice passage to another, he had no standard in his own mind at all. A love of the classics could only be got from a complete knowledge of some classical writer.

Mr GEMMELL, Greenock, said there was a danger attending the too great use of Unseens as a teaching instrument, either in school or in the university. One of their problems as teachers was to occupy the time of their boys as profitably as possible, both in and out of school. If the day's lesson were frequently an Unseen passage, he was afraid the boys would not study so well at night. He was of opinion that the use of Unseens must only be occasional. A great deal might be done on such occasions

by way of widening their view if Professor Phillimore's suggestion were adopted.

Mr G. BUCKLAND GREEN, Edinburgh, said he had formed a belief in the value of *viva voce* Unseen translation. He was inclined to think that in preparing their home work, boys set about it the wrong way and made a mess of it. They came to believe that Latin and Greek were fearfully hard, and he was sure better progress would be made if guidance were given from the start, how they should set about tackling an Unseen passage.

Mr W. KING GILLIES, Glasgow, said he thought that so much Latin prose was a great mistake. It might and did ensure a thorough knowledge of the syntax, but that was done at a great expense of time, which would be much better devoted to reading. After all, Latin prose could only be for good students, and these could pick up the syntax through reading without anything like the labour usually spent on it. The time saved from prose could be spent in reading, and most profitably from such a range of authors as Professor Phillimore suggested. Even a schoolboy could appreciate certain differences of style, and if a passage were made to illumine a whole period, the lesson would be intensely interesting.

Mr HARVEY, Dollar, said it had been clearly brought out that Unseens were of two distinct kinds, instruments of teaching and of examination. If this were attended to, the dangers spoken of would not arise. He hoped no one wanted to go back to the time of examination on set books.

Mr ALEX. EMSLIE, Grammar School, Keith, said it had been his fortune in two cases to succeed teachers who seemed to have kept the "Unseen" far in the background. The result was that

his pupils when faced by an Unseen could not do much, and he had been forced to adopt the method of teaching to a large extent by Unseens. Those who recognised what Unseens could and could not do need not be disappointed by the results. Unseens could not teach history and literature, but syntax and accidence could quite well be taught from them.

Mr WM. MAYBIN, Ayr, said he felt that Professor Phillimore had been looking backward at Unseens after a long range of continuous reading, in the course of which he had marked many interesting passages which would furnish fine examples as Unseens for testing a student's knowledge of Latin and Greek ; but this was a very different process from using Unseen extracts as instruments of teaching and not as tests pure and simple. To look forward to Unseens prospectively as a means of instruction or of acquisition was to look through the wrong end of the telescope. He rather thought they would reach their goal better by another process than by Unseens. He admitted there was a negative advantage in Unseens. If the pupil got into a rut of reading and writing, Unseens might correct that. But to be led into a knowledge of literature by Unseens was analogous to the way in which some people got their knowledge of pictures. They scampered over a number of picture galleries and had only a confused phantasmagoria before their minds. He hardly understood Unseens as teaching instruments. Every lesson a boy got, if he approached his work properly, was the intelligent translation of an "Unseen." If they gave up the reading of authors, they would lose that sense of unity and of art which would be difficult to compensate by the reading of mere extracts, whether seen or unseen.

Professor RAMSAY said the change from set books to Unseens in the examinations had brought drawbacks in its train, one of the worst of which was a diminution of knowledge of the life

and literature of Rome, and of the social order out of which Latin literature grew. He did not approve of the system of set books, but he thought that even Unseen passages might and ought to be so chosen as to test the candidate's knowledge of the fundamental facts of Roman history and Roman institutions. If the candidate, in translating such a passage, showed such ignorance of these as to be unable to bring out properly the general sense, he should be held to have failed, even though he knew the meaning of the words, and had made no grammatical mistakes in his translation. For such a purpose, of course, highly technical passages should not be chosen ; but it would be quite easy to set passages which would show whether Latin has been studied merely as a language, or in such a way as to connect it with Roman life and history.

Professor PHILLIMORE, in replying on the discussion, said he did not mean the Unseen to be substituted for other work. He was far from wishing to abolish a continuous text. His idea was rather that they should always be sowing the seeds of curiosity. The majority would fall on barren ground, but it was worth while, if even only one mind responded.

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Professor RAMSAY moved that Principal Macalister take the Chair at the lecture.

Principal MACALISTER, in taking the Chair, said he did not propose to stand a minute between audience and lecturer. As a Cambridge man, it gave him great pleasure to welcome to Glasgow one of his old colleagues, whose value was known far beyond the limits of Cambridge University (Applause).

## The Relation of Archæology to Classical Studies.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A., F.B.A.,  
Hon. D.Litt.,

Disney Professor of Archæology and Brereton Reader in Classics in the  
University of Cambridge.

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IN the use of the term archæology which appears in the title of this lecture I do not restrict it to the narrow sense of pots and pans with which it is too much bound up in many people's minds, but rather in the wider connotation of what are called in classical instruction antiquities, and which is better expressed by the term anthropology, which embraces not only the material productions of man, but also all that appertains to his sociology and to his religion.

It has been long felt by some classical scholars that if the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome are to continue to form as large, or nearly as large, a part in the education of the upper classes in these islands as heretofore, far-reaching changes must be made in the aims and methods of teaching those time-honoured subjects. It is a patent fact that for nearly a quarter of a century the discontent with the position held by the ancient

languages has steadily increased in volume and fierceness, and the most significant feature in this rebellion has been that not a few of those who were trained in the classical schools of Cambridge and Oxford have been the readiest to join the faction in each university, which wished that Greek should be made a voluntary subject, and thus be practically reduced to the position now occupied by Hebrew. For example, the present Professors of Greek at Oxford and Cambridge have taken a leading part in the efforts made in each University within recent years to dethrone Greek. It is a matter of supreme importance for those really interested in the study of the ancient literatures to ascertain the causes, or at least some of the causes, which have led to this strange spectacle that men regarded as leading classics should adopt this attitude towards the subject to which they are supposed to have devoted their lives.

There is no doubt that five-and-twenty years ago many of them firmly believed that Greek was entirely above the range of the despised passman who could never be made accurate in his accidence, and who had no taste for the scholarship to which they themselves were addicted, and which they believed would of itself always attract many students. In other words, they thought that the retention of Greek as an honours subject would secure its position and place its study beyond all danger. Yet, in the late movement against the classics it has been the classical honour-man, not the poll-man, who has too often come to the poll to vote against compulsory Greek, and it has been freely admitted in debate by some of the leading scholars who headed the movement that, if Greek were made a voluntary subject, it would almost disappear from the curriculum of the schools of England. What is the cause of these strange symptoms? Is it that classical literature is really unnecessary and out of date? From my own experience of classical education I would rather say that the leaders of classical studies in both Universities are responsible in a large measure for the revolt

against Greek and Latin. If we want to form a just opinion on the causes of this strange phenomenon we must trace the history of classical scholarship in England during the nineteenth century—from the death of Richard Porson in 1808. That remarkable man not only excelled in critical acumen, but had a fine literary appreciation, was fully alive to the great importance of first-hand study of the manuscripts of ancient authors, and to the use of the inductive method, as is demonstrated by the familiar canon of the “Pause” or law of the Cretic. But with Porson’s death there came an evil change. The Porson prize was indeed founded in honour of the great scholar, but instead of stimulating a wider and deeper study of the language and literature of the Greek dramatists, and thus carrying on the spirit of Porson, it set before the young scholar a very different ideal. His goal of success henceforward was to translate into Greek iambics a passage of Shakespeare, the victorious competitor being regarded as having attained the end of all scholarship. Gradually pedantry and petty verbalism became more and more dominant; there was no serious study even in grammar, and the only contributions to classical scholarship were occasional emendations made without any reference to manuscripts, and meagre and most insufficient discussions of Greek particles scattered at long intervals at the foot of Greek texts. As bishoprics were not unfrequently the reward for these performances, this period may not inappropriately be termed that of the Greek Particle Bishops. Nothing can be said in defence of this system of classical scholarship as a training for literature. Yet, what is the true value of classical scholarship? Why have classical studies caught hold of the best minds ever since the Renaissance, both in this country and in all the other countries of Europe? It is the literature itself which is the vital element; it is the literature that is eternal, and everything that can darken and encumber it must be regarded as detrimental to the best interests of classical

studies. Yet English scholars of the nineteenth century have done little save to darken and encumber the literature with their pedantries, and it is to the badness of their ideals and method that the reaction against classical education is either wholly or in great part due. It will, of course, be said that in the writing of Greek and Latin verses these older scholars gained a fine appreciation of poetry. Yet when we examine the translations into Greek or Latin verses left us by the leading scholars of that period we cannot help feeling that they took just as much pleasure in translating the advertisement of a plumber into Latin elegiacs, as if it had been one of the most beautiful of English lyrics. Take another case. Many of you are familiar with Longfellow's version of Salis' beautiful poem—"Into the Silent Land! ah, who shall lead us thither?" This beautiful reflective poem has been rendered into Greek trochaic tetrameters catalectic (a metre only used in passages of strong passion and excitement), apparently for no other reason except that the English lines are long, and so are trochaic tetrameters, no regard being paid to the appropriateness or inappropriateness of that metre as a medium for rendering the thought of the original. Again Gray's Elegy has been translated hundreds of times into Latin elegiacs, though the only proper medium for rendering into Latin a philosophic poem of its character are the hexameters of Lucretius, who has a famous passage which may have been the poet's model for, "No children run to lisp their sire's return, or climb his knees the envied kiss to share." The only reason then for these manifold attempts to render the poem into elegiacs was that as it is called an "Elegy," it ought to be translated into elegiacs, no account whatever being taken of its subject and tone of thought. Thus, even in what was thought the most literary side of the old-fashioned pure scholarship pedantry had too often killed real literary feeling and appreciation.

All this time the German scholars were in full activity.

They did not indeed devote much time to the writing of Greek and Latin verses, but they were collating manuscripts and producing better texts than had yet been seen, they were elaborating scientific grammar, they were studying the dialects of Greece and Italy, they had founded the study of epigraphy, and were thus laying deep the base from which to develop a more scientific study of history, whilst Bopp had inaugurated the new science of comparative philology. In all these new developments this country took little or no part, and when at last she awoke to the importance of comparative philology, this new departure, such as it was, only made matters worse than they were before.

It must be admitted that for a while the comparative study of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit gave a distinct stimulus to classical studies, and it certainly brought with it the important innovation that its advocates had some sense of law, even though they were too ready to resort to sporadic changes and exceptions that proved the rule when they found themselves in difficulties. But as time went on fresh developments in the science of language rendered that study more and more complex, so that by 1880 it was felt that comparative philology was a study rather for the specialist than for the ordinary student of the classics. Frankly stated, comparative philology had aggravated what was already a sore evil—the disregard of the contents of the ancient literatures, which already had been too much treated as a field for ingenious emendations, as an exercise ground for the pedantries of the unscientific grammarian, and as a hunting-ground for choice phrases for prose and verse compositions. On top of this had come comparative philology, and what relics of the humanities still lingered in University and school teaching soon disappeared, since the activities of the teacher and the taught centred on speculative etymologising. A lecture on Homer became a mere series of guess-work derivations. All this time, although English

scholars talked incessantly of grammatical accuracy, and were eternally discussing points of syntax, they did not take the trouble to make any cogent inductions, consequently, like the devils in *Paradise Lost*, "found no end, in wandering mazes lost." Those of us who grew up in that period remember well the straits to which we were reduced in answering grammar questions in university examinations. We were expected to point out subtle differences in the use of *αν* with the optative in Homer expressing an unfulfilled condition, and the ordinary use in Attic of *αν* with the past tense of the indicative, no regard being paid to the difference in time or in dialect between the language and grammatical uses of Homer and those of the Athenians in the time of Demosthenes. Thus the tendency to reaction already provoked by the older scholarship was fomented by the new comparative philology, and many men with real literary feeling were in smouldering revolt against classics in favour of modern literature, which they found less encumbered by the labours of the mere grammarian. The secret of the greatness of Germany in classical studies was that her students had never bound themselves body and soul in the fetters of petty verbalism and pedantry, but had studied the whole length and breadth of the classics—their literature, their languages, and their archaeology. This naturally brings us to the vital question of the relation of these three elements to each other. The success of classical studies must depend altogether on how literature, verbalism, and archaeology are bound up together. The true view, I venture to think, is that language is the key by which the student gains admission into that treasure-house of literature, in which the real kings of the ancient world—the poets, the philosophers, and the historians—have left us stores of untold wealth. Archaeology comes, and with her lamp illuminates for the searcher many crevices and corners of that treasury and reveals to him many beautiful and priceless gems of which he would otherwise never have suspected

the existence. It is in the properly regulated inter-relations of these three departments that success in classical studies must depend. I have just said that the greatness of German scholarship was due to the fact that the foremost scholars took a broad view of the whole field of classical study. A few examples will demonstrate this. Amongst the scholars of Germany in the last century four names stand out prominently—Boeckh, C. O. Müller, Niebuhr, and Theodor Mommsen. Boeckh published a monumental edition of Pindar which can never be supplanted, he inaugurated the great Corpus of Greek inscriptions, he laid down the principles on which the public economy of Athens and of all Greece has ever since been studied, whilst he made remarkable contributions to the history of money and weights. C. O. Müller has left us his great monograph on the Dorians, his masterly essay on the Eumenides, his history of Greek literature, and his Archæology of Art. Both of these excelled Niebuhr, because they took account of the material as well as literary evidence, whilst their brilliant contemporary dealt only with written tradition. Theodor Mommsen laid the foundation of the scientific study of the Italic languages and Italic alphabets, he commenced the great Corpus of Latin Inscriptions, he dealt with Roman Chronology in what is perhaps his greatest work—the “History of Roman Money,” he has left us a masterly presentation of Roman Constitutional Law and his brilliant popular “History of Rome.” The fact that he surpassed his master Niebuhr was due to his taking regard of the monumental, as well as of the traditional evidence, and we shall soon see that where Mommsen failed as an historian it was when he disregarded or overlooked the teaching of the material remains.

What then ought to be our ideal in practical life of the relations of archæology to classical studies under modern conditions? As it is the literature of Greece and Rome which is the eternal element, and as no study of classical archæology can

have any real value unless it is based upon a sound knowledge of the literature and language, we may at once lay down that archaeology in our educational system, both at school and in the University, must be regarded as ancillary to the study of the great writers of antiquity. Thus conceived and thus treated, archaeology becomes an invaluable servant, for it enables us to grasp the meaning of the ancient writers, to comprehend allusions otherwise obscure, to enhance our enjoyment of the scenes which they describe, and to realise, in a way impossible for the mere pedant, the conditions under which the ancients lived and moved and had their being.

I shall illustrate my meaning from a familiar region. If an ordinary person who has no knowledge of old English antiquities and old English life, either sees a play of Shakespeare performed on the stage or proceeds to read it in an edition cumbered with the accretions of the notes of commentators from Dr Johnson downwards, the performance or the reading must prove dull and unpalatable instead of being a source of delight. On the other hand, for one who sees or reads a play of Shakespeare with some knowledge of mediæval castles, Elizabethan houses, and of the ordinary material remains of that period, and with a proper appreciation of the life of the period from the queen herself down to the peasant, for him the allusions are easy, and the reading or seeing of the play is a matter of unalloyed delight. There can be little doubt that the revival of interest in the Elizabethan drama during the last thirty years is largely due to the great outburst of interest in the antiquities of our country which has now spread to all classes. Every county has now either its Antiquarian Society or its Field Club, whilst every town of any size has its local museum, and it is to the interest in the past awakened by these agencies that the interest now so general in the Elizabethan drama is in no small degree to be ascribed.

The pedantic scholar, from his lack of knowledge and intere

in the olden life, has too often not merely darkened passages in Shakespeare and other older writers, but has even perverted the meaning of English words. Thus Dr Johnson in commenting on "The russet-patted chough" in "Midsummer Night's Dream," being convinced that the chough could only be the grey-headed jackdaw that he saw on chimney-tops, at once assumed that russet in Shakespearian English meant a grey and not a red colour. He was completely ignorant of the fact that the choughs which in Shakespeare's time "winged the midmost air" around the cliffs of Dover had jet black heads, but deep red beaks and *pattes* or claws. Again, the grammarians have quoted for generations as a case of mixed metaphor in Shakespeare those famous lines

"to take arms against a sea of troubles,  
And by opposing end them."

Yet a very different complexion is placed on this passage as soon as we realise that Shakespeare was acquainted with an English translation of Aelian. That author relates how the Cimbrians who dwelt by the Northern Ocean, which often broke into and engulfed their lands, when they saw the great waves approaching seized their weapons and charged against the demons of the sea with the old Teutonic fury, only to make an end of themselves by thus opposing. These examples will suffice to show how archaeology comes to the aid of literature, and rids her of the vagaries of the mere grammarian, restoring to classical masterpieces the glow of life which had nearly been extinguished by the labours of the verbalist.

It is easy to apply the principle which I have been illustrating from our own literature to that of ancient Greece and Rome. If some knowledge of archaeology is essential for the proper understanding of Shakespeare and Chaucer, who after all wrote but a few centuries ago, and that too in our own language and under conditions not very unlike our own, how

much more necessary is it to make use of every means at our disposal to enable us to place ourselves at the standpoint of the creators of those literatures which grew up two thousand years and more ago in southern lands and in environments very different from those in which we live. It is infinitely harder for us to place ourselves at the standpoint of an Athenian of the age of Pericles than at that of a Scotchman in the reign of Mary Stuart. Hence in order to appreciate to the full the literature which mirrors the life and thought of the time, we must spare no pains in familiarising ourselves with the way in which the Greeks and Romans looked at life and death, and with the objects with which they were surrounded as well in death as in life. Furthermore, the end of such studies is not merely the elucidation of obscure passages in classical authors, but what is far more important—the training of students to project themselves out of their own narrow surroundings, and to think, if they possibly can, as people did in the time of Shakespeare and Chaucer. Still better is it if they can be taught to realise the attitude towards life and its problems of the Greeks of the age of Pericles and the Romans of the time of Augustus. It is of especial importance in the education of those who are in many cases to be brought into close contact with men of other races, as Indian civilians or colonial administrators, to learn to place themselves at the standpoint of peoples reared in climates and countries very different from ours, and whose way of looking at life, society, and the problems of religion are totally alien from ours. Only men who have this power either by nature or by training can become sympathetic and wise rulers and officials, whilst the same quality is no less essential for the success of the missionary and the merchant.

Let us now see what archaeology has done for Greek literature within our own time. How unreal Homer's pictures seemed to nearly all the scholars who wrote about the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" in the days before Schliemann, who, by bringing to

light the wonders of Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns, had lifted the veil from a long-buried world. They held that Nestor's drinking cup adorned with doves, great silver bowls brought from Sidon, and the elaborate metal work of Achilles' shield had never had any existence save in the poet's fancy. They thought, like Pindar, that his descriptions of great palaces and marvellous handicraft were but the embellishments of his winged art. All this is now gone for ever. Thanks to archæology we now know that these great monuments belonged not merely to Homer's generation but to a still earlier age. A cup like that from which Nestor drank is now well known; a fragment of a silver bowl, with apparently an Asiatic scene, came from the Shaft graves at Mycenae; and technique in metallurgy similar to that represented in the shield of Achilles is now recognised as having been in vogue as far back as the date of the Homeric poems, and perhaps still earlier. War still rages round the early period of Greece, but in spite of that it is already patent that the encumbrances of pedantry are falling away from Homer, and that before long *a priori* discussions on the meaning of Homeric terms and Homeric objects will have given way to a few precise facts derived from the material remains and the tradition of the ancient scholars. What an inestimable blessing this will be for those who wish to drink deep from that pure well of ancient Greek too long defiled by the wranglings of pedants.

One of the chief weapons used by Wolff and his followers in their various attempts to prove that the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" are compilations was the assumption that as writing did not exist in early Greece the poems could not have been written down, the σήματα λυγρά being explained as merely some rude sort of symbols. But we know now that there was a script in the Aegean long before the Phoenician letters came into use, and that in that older script Greek was written, as has been demonstrated by the decipherment of the Cypriote inscriptions graven in a syllabary with symbols resembling those since

discovered by Mr A. J. Evans at Cnossus, and which are also known on objects from the mainland of Greece. The σήματα λυγρά are now universally recognised as being no mere fancy of the poet's, but as reflecting faithfully a system of writing practised round the Aegean for several thousand years before Christ.

Only a few years ago it was held by certain scholars that Homer as we have it was put together some time between the great dramatists and Plato, or in other words, about B.C. 400, whilst no scholar thought of putting the date earlier than the seventh century B.C. But the absence of all mention of coinage, the very primitive character of the currency, where all accounts are kept in cows and silver as yet plays no part, the absence of horsemen, chariots alone being used, and furthermore, not a single reference either to the presence of the Dorians in Peloponnesus or to the great Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, made me maintain that the poems must have been composed at least by B.C. 1000, and many scholars have now acquiesced in this date. The late Dr Reichel, in the belief then universal that the Homeric period was the Bronze Age of Greece, and that the poems ought therefore to reflect faithfully the culture laid bare at Mycenae and other similar sites, applied to Homer a most drastic method, which was instantly taken up by many leading scholars in this country, and which even still finds some adherents. Iron weapons, breast-plates, and bronze greaves were to be ejected ruthlessly from the text, passages were to be excised which had escaped the damning marks of Zenodotus and the ancient critics. Nothing must be left save what is in complete conformity with the remains found at Mycenae. The Homeric shield described as "circular," "very circular," and "equal in every direction" had to be fitted on to the Mycenaean shield, shaped like the figure 8, in perfect disregard of the meaning of the Greek epithets. I pleaded that the Homeric poems really belong to the early Iron Age, and that in these poems we see

the first coming into Greece from Central Europe of the use of iron, though, as in all ages, the man who could not afford the newer and more costly weapon or implement had to be content with his old ones, and consequently that bronze swords continued in use alongside of iron. The recent discoveries in East Crete have proved beyond doubt the existence of such a period of overlap, and thus the knives of the disectors of the Homeric text have once more had their edges blunted. Nor is this all. Scholars of this type are just as much at fault on the side of language as they are on that of archæology. It is useless to talk of passages in which there is reference to the *thorax* as Ionic insertions unless they can point to definite Ionic forms. How is it that there are no forms such as  $\kappa\hat{\omega}s=\pi\hat{\omega}s$ , and that in the use of the third plurals in *-oiaro*, *-aiaro* there is a clear distinction between the language of Herodotus and that of Homer? We may thus look forward to a time when the lucubrations of the half instructed archæologist and linguistic scholar will have gradually ceased to vex the Homeric text, and when that text itself will be studied by the aid of some well ascertained facts derived from the traditions of the ancients themselves and from the material remains of the age in which the poems took shape.

When we pass on to the literature of the classical period, the same method may be applied with equal advantage. Is the student reading Herodotus or Thucydides replete with the marshalling of hosts, the tramp of armies, with battles both by sea and land, and the siege and fall of fortresses? If he is to appreciate what he reads, the student must have some knowledge of the warfare of the period, the method of building fortresses, and also the engines used in their assault, and the equipment and weapons of the warriors. But this is not all. We read of temples and shrines of the gods, and of the Spartans refusing to march until a certain feast of the god had passed. He who would read intelligently must there-

fore have some knowledge of Greek religion, the nature of its chief festivals, the architecture, sculpture, and painting of the fanes in which they worshipped the great gods, and the smaller shrines where they adored still more their local heroes and heroines.

But it is not merely material objects, such as the great temples and the statues that adorned them, the study of which gives new life and a broader basis to the study of the classics. Anthropology has made great advances in the last quarter of a century, and we now know as ascertained facts many phases of society,—forms of kinship, marriage, and inheritance, not dreamed of fifty years ago. Through lack of such knowledge classical scholars of the greatest eminence have fallen into errors, which in the light of the present day strike us as almost ludicrous. A single example will suffice. Grote has a fine passage familiar to you all in which he speaks of the devotion to the state and the self-abnegation of the Spartan husband, who in the hope of producing stalwart sons for Sparta, did not hesitate to share his wife with another. Yet we now know that so far from this being the outcome of lofty patriotism, we have simply an example of two well-known forms of polyandry, both the wider form, and the more restricted type commonly termed the Tibetan, wherein several brothers share one wife.

The Greek and Roman writers are full of allusions to social habits, manners, and customs which have perplexed the older scholars, at the same time giving them opportunity for much wild speculation. Yet many of these when studied in the light of anthropological research are capable of simple explanations to be understood of all.

But it is not merely for the elucidation and defence of passages in ancient writers that the results of archaeology are most important. Modern discoveries are revolutionising our attitude towards the ancient historians themselves. It has been too long the fashion for those who thought that they were

following Niebuhr, but who really did not understand his method, to cavil at and doubt the statements of Greek and Roman historians. The easiest way by which a man could earn for himself the reputation of a keen critic with great speculative insight was to declare that Thucydides had invented the whole story of the siege of Platæa, or that Herodotus had no warrant save his own imagination for his tale that at Naucratis in Egypt there was a flourishing Greek colony with a temple in honour of the Milesian Apollo. Yet within a year after the latter charge had been made in a certain edition of Herodotus, Professor Flinders Petrie discovered the site of Naucratis, laid bare its streets and found the temple of Apollo, as was proved by the dedicatory inscriptions to that god incised on numerous objects. Time was, and indeed is hardly yet passed when Pausanias was charged with having compiled a guidebook to Greece from older handbooks which he did not understand. Yet when in 1876 the Germans commenced their memorable excavations at Olympia, as soon as they found one definite site in the Altis, they were able to find the other chief localities by simply following the account given by the old traveller of the relative positions of the various monuments. Again Pausanias has been charged with falsehood for stating that the stadium at Delphi was covered with Pentelic marble, because not a scrap of marble was found *in situ* by the French excavators, and accordingly it was urged that Pausanias is unworthy of credence. But that distinguished Scotchman, my old friend, Mr J. G. Frazer, triumphantly showed that Cyriac of Ancona, who visited Delphi in the fifteenth century, speaks of the stadium as *marmoreis gradibus ornatissimum*, and that Wheler in the seventeenth century notes that the stadium must once have been lined with marble, as that material was still to be seen on some of the seats.

But valuable as are the services of archaeology in rehabilitating the credibility of Herodotus, Pausanias, and other ancient

writers, she is doing a far greater work. Behind the rehabilitation of this or that historian there lies a much more important principle. When we find case after case in which the old writers are proved to be trustworthy, our whole moral attitude is changed, and there is little doubt that amongst the younger generation of scholars the influence of archæology is silently and steadily lessening that pettifogging spirit of scepticism, which thinks that the only way in which a man of ability can show that ability is to bring allegations of deliberate invention or at least of grave perversion of facts against this or that author. Already archæology is making itself widely felt in the study of history, and we may confidently look forward to its increasing influence year by year as fresh discoveries continually keep confirming the accuracy of the literary traditions.

Hitherto I have been speaking of Greece. If we turn to Roman history the circumstances are just the same. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, following the records of older writers now lost, has told us the story of the early inhabitants of Upper and Central Italy, but his statements were, and still are, generally discredited by what is called the pure historian. Dionysius tells us that the oldest inhabitants, whom he terms the Aborigines, were being gradually conquered or driven back into the Apennines by the Siculi and Umbrians, when the Greeks first planted colonies in Central Italy. The Aborigines helped the Greeks against their great enemies, the Umbrians and the Siculi, and for a time apparently the combination of Greeks and Aborigines kept the Umbrians in check. Then later came the Tyrrhenians from Lydia. They seem to have been welcomed by the Greeks to aid them against the ever-advancing Umbrian tribes, and presently the powerful Etruscan confederacy captured no less than three hundred Umbrian towns, and that people only maintained their independence in the region known as Umbria in Roman times. About B.C. 400 the Gauls descended in force from the Alps, and dealt a blow to the

Etruscan power, from which it never recovered. They advanced to the Tiber, defeated the Romans on the Allia, and captured Rome herself. Bought off by Roman gold, they retired northwards, but henceforward they occupied a great part of North Italy, extending as far south as Bononia and Sena Gallica. Finally the Romans expelled or conquered the Gauls. Modern investigations, for instance at Bologna, show us the successive strata : the remains of the Roman period are easily identified by coins and inscriptions ; next come graves, with the remains of large men, associated with long iron swords and with accoutrements and a style of ornament familiar on Cæsar's battlefields, where he overthrew the Helvetii and Boii, and in the graves of Gaulish chiefs in the valleys of the Marne and Seine. There can be no doubt that we have here the relics of the Gauls who had occupied Bononia.

Then come the Etruscan tombs, easily distinguished by their peculiar form, the dead being laid at full length, and never burned. Then comes the stratum belonging to the early Iron Age, containing relics similar to those which are found over all Italy wherever the Umbrian tribes settled, and there can be no doubt that these are the relics of the Umbrians. Finally we meet all over Upper Italy, especially in the Po valley, in Latium, and as far south as Tarentum, the remains of a culture known as the Terramare. This goes back far into the Neolithic period, and continues into the Copper and early Bronze period. It is chiefly found in lake-dwellings in the plains of the Po and in the region occupied by the Ligurians in historical times. There can be little doubt then that we have in the earliest culture the remains of the Aborigines of Dionysius, who were driven into the Apennines by the Siculan-Umbrian tribes. Now, when we learn from Philistus of Syracuse that the Ligyes—that is, the Ligurians—occupied all Central Italy, both north and south of the Tiber, including the site of Rome, we are justified in believing that the Aborigines who dwelt in Latium as well as in Upper Italy were Ligurians.

What was Mommsen's attitude towards the traditions contained in Dionysius? He totally disregarded all statements about the Aborigines, and he held that the legend that the Tyrrheni had come from Lydia was a pure invention. On the strength of Corssen's guess that the name Rasenna, found only once in literature (Dionysius), was identical with Rhaeti, he regarded the Etruscans as Rhaeti from the Alps. But we now know the cemeteries of the ancient Rhaetians in the Alps, and, as might have been expected, they burned their dead, and disposed of their ashes in the same way as did their kinsfolk the Umbrians, whereas we have just seen that the Etruscans never burned their dead. Moreover, Lepsius has made it probable that Rasenna is a misreading for Trasenna, a by-form of Tarsenoi, itself a known form of Tyrsenoi, whilst the evidence of modern researches points clearly to the connection of what is distinctively Etruscan with Asia Minor, and not with the Alps.

Nor was Mommsen more felicitous in his attitude to early Roman tradition. It was held by the Romans themselves that the Patricians differed essentially from the Plebeians. But Mommsen and his followers in this country would have none of it. He simply laid it down that the Romans were a homogeneous people. In 1902 I ventured to give some reasons for believing that the ancient traditions were right, and that the dissensions between Patricians and Plebs were far more deeply rooted than in a mere struggle between Capital and Labour. The excavations of Commendatore Boni in the Forum have since shown two different kinds of graves—the one cremation, the other inhumation burials. This most important archæological fact, taken in conjunction with the different kinds of marriage, one Patrician, the other Plebeian, the different armature of the original First Classis as compared with that of the other Classes, as well as the fact that the three chief Flamines ministered to Sabine deities, all combine to show that the Patricians were Sabines, the Plebeians the aboriginal population.

In the light of those services rendered to his own studies the pure classical scholar may be induced to relent, and we may hope that when he is fully convinced that archæology is now using sounder methods, he will shake off his prejudice against the Oldbucks and the Simpkinsonsons, whose credulities and inanities brought so much contempt upon archæology in the past.

Hitherto I have only spoken of the obligations of literature to archæology, yet I am not unmindful of the equally great obligations of archæology to literature. The older scholars very properly viewed with suspicion and contempt the lucubrations of the dilettanti, who wrote learned dissertations to prove all sorts of wild theories respecting the history and the uses of any chance object that fell into their hands, without any reference to documentary evidence. Archæology could make no real progress as long as she was divorced from literary records. Even in reference to objects not more than two centuries out of use, there can be no certainty unless we resort to the literature of the time. As soon as we find a good passage of some old writer the relic which has long baffled us is at once explained. Mere collections of antiquities not illustrated by historical documents are robbed of a chief part of their value, unless they be works of art, which are beautiful and precious in themselves. I shall illustrate my meaning by one or two examples.

Two visitors wander through some great armoury gazing at the suits of tarnished armour and at the weapons rusting on the walls never more to be taken down and sharpened by the soldier in all the joyance of war. For the uncultured sightseer these relics have neither life nor voice; at most they only rouse a momentary curiosity as the label informs him that this sword or that breastplate belonged to some princely personage. But for the other, who knows his Froissart or his Joinville or rugged old Villehardouin, spectral hands grasp once more their mighty swords and the clang of steel is heard on casque and shield.

Take an example from a more remote epoch. Many of you have seen in museums the remains from the lake-dwellings so common in Switzerland, and which are similar to the crannogs common in Scotland and Ireland, and occasionally found in England as for instance the Lake Village at Glastonbury. As you stray through such a museum, the eye wanders over the varied mass of implements of stone, bone, and horn, broken weapons, and strange and curious tools and ornaments. You are but walking through a valley of dry bones, and you give utterance to the cry, "Can these dry bones live?" Yes, they can be made to live for you once more by the revivifying magic of literature. You all remember the description given by Herodotus (V. 13) of the pile-dwellers of Lake Prasias in Thrace, how they planted strong piles in the lake, the whole community joining in the task, how they built on these piles wooden platforms, approached by a long wooden bridge or gangway from the shore, how they reared their frail cabins on these platforms, and how they arranged for the renewal of the piles by the rule that for each wife a man married he must drive in three piles. Take this passage and read it as you gaze at the broken and decayed relics from a Swiss pile-dwelling or a Scotch crannog. At once there is "a noise and a shaking, and the bones come together, bone to his bone; the sinews too come up on them, and then they are once more clothed in flesh, and the skin grows over them." Finally the very breath of life seems to be infused into the ancient owners, and they rise up before us as in life. This last example will suffice to show the debt of archaeology to literature and at the same time to demonstrate what archaeology can do for her partner. Not so long ago it was the fashion to regard the Father of History rather as the Father of Lies, and no story of the old Hali-carnassian excited more scepticism than his narrative of the brave lake-dwellers of Prasias who defied successfully the lieutenant of Xerxes in their watery fastness. But that is all

changed now. The discovery of pile-dwellings in many regions of Europe including the Balkan itself has demonstrated that at no very distant epoch a large proportion of the inhabitants of Europe lived in the fashion described by Herodotus. There is really no antagonism between literature and archæology. Each is absolutely necessary for the other, if both are to be studied as they ought. But as literature is the highest expression of the spiritual side of man, whilst archæology is chiefly concerned with his material products, and as things spiritual must stand above things material, so must literature have ever the foremost place, whilst language also must bow to her sovereignty. On the proper subordination of linguistic and archæology to literature must depend the success of classical studies. I may illustrate my meaning by an allegory borrowed from Plato, when in the "Phaedrus" he describes the tripartite nature of the soul. First there is the intellectual element seated in the head, secondly the passionate whose seat is in the breast, and finally the appetitive seated in the abdominal regions. He likens these three to a charioteer driving a pair of steeds along the plain. As long as the intellectual keeps control of the passionate and the appetitive, all goes well. But as surely as one or other turns restive, disaster ensues and one more is added to the many wrecks that already strew the plain. So too is it with classical studies. As long as literature keeps under due control her two steeds archæology and language, all goes well; but so surely as the passionate ardour of the archæologist leads him to disregard the monitions of his charioteer, or the morbid appetite of the verbalist for emending sound texts refuses to be curbed, disaster must inevitably result for classical studies. To take another metaphor. If these three elements be properly combined and interwoven, they will form a threefold cord which is not quickly broken; nay, not a cord, but a stout cable which for generations to come will give safe mooring to classical studies in every system of higher education.

Professor PHILLIMORE moved a vote of thanks to Professor Ridgeway. He said it was always a pleasure to hear a lecturer speaking on a subject of which he was an acknowledged master, and it was always a pleasure to hear an Irishman speaking on any subject—(laughter and applause)—and not less so when, even incidentally, his subject included the topic of mixed metaphor. (Laughter.) They had tasted both these pleasures that afternoon. The lecture had been richly seasoned with wit, but it was that kind of wit which had been called “another and better way of thinking.” The wit that had adorned the lecture was wisdom all the time. Some of those present were interested in the sins of the scholars of seventy years ago, some were interested in the reconstruction of texts, but everyone was interested in the more general conclusion up to which Professor Ridgeway had led them. Nothing could be more important than the conclusion he had drawn, namely, that we were now recovering, painfully, from that malady of a former age, the mania of incredulity. (Applause.) They had been shown that the conclusions of archaeology were the conclusions of common sense ; and that where pedantry deviated from common sense, archaeology had set things straight again. The ordinary common sense view was that when a man took the trouble to write the history of a country, in all probability he was writing the truth. The sceptical school set out from a different hypothesis. Archaeology had now proved—what common sense had set out with believing—that on the whole the historian was to be trusted ; that a safe starting point was the credibility of history, until the contrary was proved. They owed a debt of gratitude to the Professor for the interest of his lecture, for the value of his conclusions, for the charm of language and humour and fancy with which his learning had been presented ; but the audience would also feel that debt increased when they heard that the lecturer had undertaken two all-night journeys in order to be present. (Applause.) In moving a formal vote of thanks he would like

to tell Mr Ridgeway that his audience had been composed of the very classes he most desired to address. There were present students who had tried to turn Gray's Elegy into Latin Elegiacs. (Laughter.) There were present representatives of the Hellenic Society of Glasgow, and it was to these he had been showing how great were the services that archæology had rendered to classics, and defining the true relations of the two ways of estimating the past. (Applause.)

Professor RIDGEWAY said he was indebted to Professor Phillimore for the forgiving spirit in which he had received certain remarks of his, and to the whole audience for the patience with which they had listened to his long lecture. He had all his life had a love of classical literature, and if he could do anything to promote its study he would willingly do more than travel two nights and a day. (Applause.) He believed that literature was one of the greatest instruments for the higher culture.

Professor BALDWIN BROWN proposed a vote of thanks to Principal Macalister for being present and presiding at the lecture.

Principal MACALISTER said he had rather to thank the Classical Association for the privilege of listening as a guest to his old colleague, Professor Ridgeway. He knew beforehand, of course, what a treat was in store for them, and he was sure that now the lecture had been a great delight to all. (Applause.)

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**MEETING HELD AT ST ANDREWS,  
On SATURDAY, 14th MARCH 1908.**

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THE SPRING MEETING of the Association was held at St Andrews on Saturday, 14th March. In the absence of the President, owing to illness, Dr HEARD, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the great regret of all concerned that the President was unable to preside, the more so that the matter for discussion at the morning sitting was one on which the President was uniquely competent to advise them. He had, however, received an Address to the Association from the President which he would at once proceed to read. The circular letter which the President had issued was before them.

SEAFORTH,  
BRIDGE OF ALLAN, *February 1908.*

DEAR SIR,—Feelings of strong dissatisfaction seem to have been aroused among teachers—both of Secondary and Higher Grade Schools—by the stringent character of the Regulations for the curriculum in such schools laid down in the recent Minutes of the Department. As the new rules seem likely to be

hurtful to the study of all languages, and especially to that of Greek and German, it has been suggested that the Classical Association might take action in the matter, and help to focus the objections which have been raised against the Regulations from different quarters. With a view, therefore, to ascertain whether there is such an agreement among those engaged in Secondary work as might enable some form of common action to be taken, I have been requested by the Headmasters of some important schools to collect opinions on the points indicated below, all of which seem to be raised by the issue of the recent Regulations.

The substance of the representations made may be put as follows :—

1. That the Regulations as a whole are too uniform in character ; that they permit too little liberty to pupils and to managers of schools, and cramp unnecessarily the freedom of the teacher.
2. That it is not a sound principle to lay down a fixed amount of time to be given to particular subjects, without leaving any discretion to the teacher to suit his curriculum to the capacities of his scholars or the circumstances of the locality.
3. That, in particular, the amount of time assigned to Science and Drawing as compulsory subjects, to be exacted equally of all scholars, is excessive.
4. That the Intermediate Certificate should be confined to scholars leaving at the Intermediate age, and should not be required of scholars going through a full Secondary course with a view to the Leaving Certificate. The abolition of the Intermediate Certificate Examination, except in such subjects as are dropped before the Leaving Certificate stage, would give the teacher greater freedom to spread the required subjects

in the best way over the whole five years of the course. It is not a sound educational principle to be testing a scholar's progress in all subjects at each stage of his development.

5. That the rigidity of the whole system, with its tendency to concentrate attention upon the passing of two Certificate Examinations, and to stifle individual initiative on the part of the teacher, is likely to have a deleterious effect upon the training of teachers, and upon the class of men or women likely to be attracted to the profession.

I should be greatly obliged to you if you would inform me, at your early convenience, as to your general agreement or otherwise in the above propositions, with a view to common action in the matter.—Yours truly,

G. G. RAMSAY,  
*President of the Classical Association of Scotland*

*February 1908.*

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### THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I cannot express to you how great is my disappointment at being obliged to absent myself from your meeting to-day, but, unfortunately, I have no choice in the matter.

Desirous as I always am of doing my duty as your President, it was especially my duty to be present to-day, as I have taken upon myself, in conjunction with other members of the Council, to bring before you the important subject which you are to

consider, and to do my best to collect first-hand evidence in regard to it.

Let me first congratulate the Association on the success attending our Glasgow meeting in November. In addition to the interesting paper contributed by Professor Brown from New Zealand, a very useful discussion was provoked by Professor Phillimore's original and stimulating paper upon *Unseen Translation*; and I feel little doubt that the members of the Association will approve of the novelty introduced on that occasion, whereby the afternoon lecture was thrown open to all friends of members, and to any others who might wish to hear a scholar of distinction lecturing on some subject of general interest which was peculiarly his own. If we can secure such an audience as we had on that occasion, we shall feel no diffidence in inviting scholars of distinction to address us at future meetings. Professor Ridgeway's lecture was of the most racy and original kind; and its inclusion amongst our proceedings will form a very attractive feature of our forthcoming volume. I feel sure that a similar arrangement for the future will commend itself to the members of the Association; and our heartiest thanks are due to Professor Burnet, who has so kindly acceded to our request to deliver to a general audience this afternoon the lecture which he has promised us on a topic full of human interest.

I have now to explain the reasons which induced me to issue the circular in regard to the recent regulations of the Scottish Educational Department, which are this morning to be the main subject of discussion. I had received various letters on the subject from schoolmasters of position in different parts of Scotland, and in consequence I took it up in a general way in my opening address in November last. Since then, it has been suggested to me from various quarters that it would be well to bring up the subject in some definite form at this meeting with a view to focussing expert opinion on the subject, and to consider whether it might be possible, in the event of any general

agreement being arrived at, to take steps, by means of public meetings or otherwise, to ventilate our views, and bring them in a cautious and moderate form before those on whom the future of Scottish education depends.

The totally new position recently assumed by Government towards the Secondary Schools of Scotland marks a new and very important crisis in the cause of our higher education ; and it is right and fitting that full expression should be given, if possible in a collective form, to the opinion of those teachers, headmasters and others, whose business it will be to bring the new system into effect.

We are, no doubt, a strictly Classical Association ; but, it is my earnest desire that this subject should be considered, not at all from the point of view of Classics only, but with a view to the interests of higher education generally, and of all the subjects which fall within that designation. We cannot, of course, speak here authoritatively on any subject except our own ; but it would be desirable that any resolutions adopted might be such as are applicable to other subjects, and in regard to which we may expect to find a substantial agreement on the part of those who are engaged in teaching such subjects. In that event, we might hope to appeal to those interested in all parts of education to join in the expression of such opinions and recommendations as may be found applicable to higher education as a whole.

I think I may fairly say for myself, that though my own work has lain in Classics, I have endeavoured in all matters relating to public education to shape my views from a general point of view ; not to press unduly the claims of any one subject, but rather to consider on what principles, and by what methods, any subject included in the curriculum can be so taught as to produce the best educational results. That, I think, is the true principle on which educationists should proceed. And I have always claimed that classical men are

peculiarly tolerant and sympathetic towards subjects other than their own.

I may, perhaps, be allowed here to say that ever since the year 1868 the cause that has interested me most, after the work of my own chair, has been the cause of higher education in Scotland. In those early days, before the first Scottish Education Bill, we had many fights for the maintenance of Scottish ideas ; and many were the deputations from the Universities which sought to show the authorities in England that education in Scotland had never been confined to what was known as elementary education in England. It was in vain that we pressed upon Mr Robert Lowe, as he then was, the fact that recruits for the Universities might be found in every parish school of Scotland ; and I remember the mixed triumph and indignation with which I elicited from him the remark that "He would as soon think of asking the public to pay for his butcher's bill, as for any kind of education higher than that included within the limits of the Revised Code" ; and it was with no little difficulty, that after frequent university deputations we succeeded in wringing from a by no means too sympathetic Lord Advocate (but with full sympathy and aid from Sir Francis Sandford (afterwards Lord Sandford), then head of the undivided Education Department), the famous clause in the Act of 1872 which provided that the standard of education under the new Act was to be not lower than that which had hitherto been reached in the ordinary schools of Scotland.

I now come to the queries which I have ventured to put forth in my own name, and which are to form the topic of discussion this morning. First, let me say that the questions were not mainly intended to elicit replies in accordance with the ideas suggested, but rather to throw a wide net over the whole subject, embracing all the more important points in connection with the recent regulations which had been brought to my notice by different correspondents. They were framed in consultation with several

well-known members of our Association, especially Dr Heard and Mr Rose ; and though we are prepared to take entire responsibility for the putting of these questions in their actual form, we had no desire whatever to suggest the answer that should be made to them. Our wish was to bring out, in however general a form, such an amount of general concurrence amongst the teachers, and especially the headmasters, in some of our best and most typical Secondary Schools, as might form the basis for some sort of common action on the subject. And our object was to obtain the opinions, not merely of classical men, but of those responsible for all subjects included in a Secondary curriculum.

It was not to be expected that all those written to should care to commit themselves to definite answers. Of those who have replied, not a few have done so with a desire that no definite use should be made of their names ; and I cannot help here recording my great surprise, and almost indignation, that the hand of superior authority should be so felt by men of independent position—the very men to whom we should naturally look for advice on educational matters—as to make them unwilling to express themselves with perfect freedom on matters and results which they see daily before their eyes. The fact that the last ten years have been marked by sudden and frequent changes of view in headquarters affords surely an additional reason why those who have to work these varying regulations should have the utmost possible freedom in recording their opinions on them.

We have received answers, all of an interesting kind, from more than fifty correspondents. Dr Heard and Mr Rose have kindly undertaken to put into practical shape the general result of these replies ; but I must tender my own warmest thanks to the writers of these letters, many of them entering with full knowledge and great acumen into the actual difficulties raised, or likely to be raised, in different types of schools, in the way of

carrying the proposed regulations into practice. The whole forms a very valuable bit of practical evidence which with the leave of the writers might be submitted with great advantage to any educational authority considering these particular problems. May I say a few words as to the general impression left upon my mind by the consideration of these answers?

The general result of the answers is strongly to support the view that the regulations in their present form, unless worked with much elasticity, are too rigid in their character. Upon this point I think I may say that the answers speak with absolute unanimity; and they do so very much upon the grounds which I put forth in my address of November last. Very little objection has been taken to the curriculum laid down as a typical one; as one to be carefully considered in every individual case, and as embodying a course of education that we should all of us like to see pursued as far as possible by the average scholar. But all I think are equally unanimous that it should be presented not as an inflexible Code laid down by the Medes and Persians, but as one to be carried out with consideration of all the various circumstances which differentiate the abilities and tastes of scholars, the desires of parents, and the needs of particular localities. There is nothing in the world so individual in ability, in taste, in aptitude, and in temper as the mind of the young scholar—there is nothing that can less afford, within certain necessary limits, to be treated by rhadamantine rules applied to all and sundry. To apply a universal all-compelling standard to every child alike is an absurdity; the attempt can only end in failure and disappointment. On this point an admirable object lesson has been presented lately by the revelation (as some seem to think it) that even the Qualifying Examination in Elementary Schools, in the elementary subjects, however low it may be placed, is one that cannot be reached by everybody; no practical teacher could ever have expected any other result. No examination that can be passed by everybody is worthy of the name

—where there is little or nothing to “put into the balance” an examination is almost a contradiction in terms. Such a test can be of little or no value to the many, and leaves wholly out of consideration the wants of the able few whose fair development is the highest of all objects from a national point of view.

Of the special capacities and aptitude of scholars no one can judge but the teacher who has charge of their education. The evidence I have received is entirely in favour, within certain general limits, of allowing and encouraging the teacher to make a special point, so far as circumstances permit, of adapting the curriculum to the scholar, rather than the scholar to the curriculum. If a pupil at an early age shows marked capacity, let that capacity be provided for. Do not put under the same rules the scholar who can reach a certain standard in one year with another who takes two years or three years to reach it, or who may perhaps never be able to reach it at all. Let the scholar who shows a special aptitude at an early age for languages, whether modern or ancient, be cultivated up to his ability. Let the mathematical pupil be treated in the same way, with the minimum of non-mathematical subjects; let science be treated similarly, and so with other subjects. Let the theory of a “well-balanced curriculum” not be pushed to an absurdity; and let it be frankly recognised that the *minima* and the *maxima* in any subject whatsoever are only to be applied with strictness to the average scholar (if such a thing exists: perhaps we should rather call him “the well-balanced” scholar); and not so used as to do less than justice to those special forms and degrees of ability which may be found in every school in the country.

I have all my life contended for the principle that in a school promotion from one class to another should be regulated by proficiency, and not by age or standing. This principle is carried out in all the best schools of England; and I have never been able to understand why it should not be applied in Scotland also. By this method natural selection brings the ablest scholars

to the top, and discovers the particular bent of their capacity. On this system the able boy will no longer be kept back by the dullard ; the dullard will not be discouraged by being unable to keep pace with his fellows. Such a system is more than ever needed under the new plan for the training of teachers, under which an inroad of ill-prepared scholars is constantly being made into the Higher Schools from schools which are not permitted to teach secondary subjects, so that the scholar who has studied a subject for several years may be put upon the same plane with mere beginners. Within my own knowledge, this advancement from one type of school to another, excellent in itself, has been productive of great difficulties ; and the only mode of meeting it satisfactorily is to provide that advancement from one class to another shall be regulated by merit and capacity only, and not by age or seniority.

Cases have been quoted to me in which candidates who have passed their subject in the Intermediate Examination have not been allowed to count it as a pass, because they had not yet reached the statutory age for passing it. This seems to reach the high-water mark of official absurdity. It represents, in deed and in truth, nothing less than Government by Schedule.

The mention of this form of literature induces me to say one word on a topic which takes a prominent place in the answers to question Number Five. Headmasters of schools are unanimous in deplored the intolerable burden which is put upon them, and the waste of precious time involved, in the perpetual answering of questions, filling up of forms, and tabulating of statistics, in obedience to official demand. Day after day valuable time, which ought to be spent by the headmaster in living contact with his staff and his scholars, is consumed in endless mechanical work which could be as well done by a third-rate clerk. The secret of a school's success depends upon the influence of the headmaster being brought continuously to bear upon all the teachers and all the scholars under him ; and anything which

unnecessarily subtracts any portion of his time from the highest of all his functions is an injury to the whole school and to the education given in it.

Having thus stated the practical unanimity of my correspondents in deprecating the rigidity of the new regulations, I leave it to others to suggest which are the particular points on which the approval of our Association and the co-operation of educationists generally can best be secured.

It is, I think, admitted by all that the regulations as they stand will be damaging to the study of Greek and of German; and I warmly sympathise with the position of one headmaster, a mathematical man, who complains that the amount of time hitherto given to Classics is excessive for boys of a mathematical turn of mind. This criticism entirely harmonises with the point of view taken up in this paper, and is on all fours with the complaint of classical teachers that the amount of time given to Mathematics is too great for boys of a classical turn—many of whom have no capacity for Mathematics whatever. And very few are excellent in both.

The question of the Intermediate Certificate is a very difficult one; and various views have been expressed in regard to it. Very few object to it altogether, provided, here again, that some elasticity in its requirements be permitted, and that too much importance be not attached to it. Boys of special capacity in some subjects might be allowed to give up other subjects, after passing sufficiently in them, before reaching the statutory end of the course prescribed for all; and grave suspicion must be aroused by the new suggestion of the Department to extend the compulsory period of the course for the Intermediate Certificate from three years to four. It is also a very open question whether scholars who are obviously intending to reach ultimately the Leaving Certificate should be required to pass the Intermediate Examination in the same way as others. This is, obviously, a case in which the headmaster might be allowed

to judge the best mode and time for taking the subjects included in the Intermediate curriculum, without taking them under the same conditions as those prescribed for scholars for whom the Intermediate Examination marks the end of their school life.

Question Number Five, that relating to the possible effect of strict regulations upon the future supply of teachers, is drawn up, I confess, in a somewhat pedantic form. Whatever our criticism upon individual points may be, we know that the education of Scotland, as a whole, is going up, and not going down ; and everyone must gratefully acknowledge the excellent work which the Department has done, and is doing, to produce that result. So long as our educational system maintains, or improves upon, its present standard, so long we may be sure that it will attract to its service a fair share of the best intelligence of the country ; but that intelligence, and the character which accompanies it, should not be trammelled in its development by an unnecessary amount of red-tape Government. If there is one department of human affairs which more than another depends for its efficiency and success upon the personal equation, it is that of teaching ; there is none in which it is more essential that free play should be given to the particular qualities of those who take part in it. No two teachers teach exactly in the same way ; no subjects will be taught, or indeed ought to be taught, by everyone through the same man. If it is true that *Le style c'est l'homme*, it is equally true that *The method is the man*. Every good teacher has special qualities of his own which impress themselves upon his scholars ; and no greater mistake could be made than to attempt to force a mechanical uniformity of method upon all teachers. A teacher gains hold of a class by bringing out the best that is in him in his own way ; and the ways of no two men are the same. However good a prescribed method may be, however necessary it may be to lay down certain general principles for teaching, the real effect depends most of all upon the individuality of the

man ; and whatever unduly discourages that individuality, or checks the initiative which belongs to it, robs the teacher of his most efficient instrument. Inspectors are not always alive to this. If they know one good way of doing a thing, they are too apt to suppose that there is no other way of doing it.

It was my singular good fortune, at school and college, to have been under four really great teachers. These were Benson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; Bradley, afterwards Dean of Westminster ; Jowett, the great Master of Balliol ; and my own uncle, Professor William Ramsay. They all taught Classics ; they each made an impression on their pupils that could never be forgotten. But their methods were wholly different ; and the one to whom I owe most, brought down upon himself the censure of his official superiors for the very point which constituted the supreme excellence of his teaching, and which gave me a lead which has been of inestimable value to me in later life. May I hope that no code of instructions, however excellent, may ever curb the originality, or deaden the sense of independence, which have so long been the characteristics of the Scottish schoolmaster ?

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At the conclusion of the Address the CHAIRMAN moved a hearty vote of thanks to the President, and expressed the hope that he would soon be restored to health.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that it might facilitate the discussion if he put before them some line of procedure. He proposed that they should take up one by one the various points contained in the circular letter of the President which was before them.

With the permission of the meeting he would put the first two clauses as resolutions as they stood. The next two clauses

he would move in a slightly amended form, so as to bring them into closer agreement with opinions expressed in the answers to the circular. He recommended that clause 5 should be reserved. It contained matter of the deepest importance, but it was in itself sufficient to occupy the whole of the available time, containing as it did such large questions as the training of teachers and the future of the profession. On this clause, therefore, no direct discussion would take place, nor would any resolution be proposed.

Dr Heard then proceeded to make a general report on the answers received by the President to the circular.

He said: "As you know, the President's circular elicited a large number of replies. About sixty written communications were received, many of them covering a great deal of ground, and forming a valuable contribution for the discussion of all kinds of difficulties. Inquiries were not restricted to members of the Association, and naturally matters came up in the answers which do not concern us particularly. There are complaints, for instance, that headmasters have become mere clerks—that they are asphyxiated with schedules. I believe this complaint contains much truth, and there are certainly many other points on which criticism is fairly passed. But I think we should endeavour in our discussion to-day to deal with the bearing of these regulations upon classical study. We are hardly called upon to judge of the administration of the Department in general, or indeed to act aggressively in the matter, but our object is to protect endangered interests, and to retain for our schools at least some initiative and freedom of method.

I have read all the letters received by Professor Ramsay, and save in case of a few which came rather late, I have made a brief analysis of the replies. In replying to inquiries on five different heads, and that too on subjects where critics cannot be satisfied with giving a mere "Yes" or "No," there are of course many observations in detail and many minor differences, so that an exact classification is difficult. Four out of every five letters

are in substantial agreement with the circular as a whole, the differences arising chiefly in clause 4, on which an amendment will be proposed that I think will be generally acceptable. Concurrence with clauses 1 and 2 is only little short of universal, and is expressed with strong conviction. There are, of course, some who would part with Greek without a tear, and these do not seem to feel the dangers referred to in the first two resolutions; they seem to be afraid that men will revert to their evil classical ways if the strong hand of the Department does not hold them tight. No one would wish to ignore the preference for other than classical studies, or not afford such an education the fullest scope. It must be remembered, however, that this is exactly the contention of the circular, that schools should not be all of uniform type or aim.

With reference to clause 2, I should like to quote a remark of Professor Darroch's: "It is strange that the Scotch Education Department should now impose a fixed curriculum upon our Intermediate and Secondary Schools, and repeat the error of the fixed Code system once prevalent in our Elementary Schools."

The topic that is chiefly dealt with is that of the third language. The greatest apprehension is expressed lest in many schools Greek (or German) will either disappear or be taken only by a select few. One headmaster remarks that Greek in his school must now be far less studied, and that it had actually been proposed to withdraw German from the curriculum altogether. He then pertinently adds, "Surely a system that necessitates a *jactura* so calamitous is self-condemned." Another headmaster points out that, cut and carve as he will, it will be impossible to give a boy who begins Greek at his school at the age of fifteen a proper standard of knowledge for matriculation in less than four years. There is much else to the same purport. The headmaster of one of the largest academies writes: "The effect will be to abolish German entirely, hurt Greek considerably, and lower the average

standard of education." From north and south and east and west the same complaint comes in.

What is the compensation then for a loss so anxiously anticipated? A knowledge of science. Great distrust is expressed of the value of science as a compulsory subject for all, and for such a long period of time. There is no hostility to science in itself, or any wish to restrict it in case of pupils who have aptitude for it; but in too many cases it is a profitless study, and at best over-valued. I should like to quote a passage from a most valuable communication which is mainly in favour of the Department. "On the whole," says the writer, "I am on the side of humanistic studies, and believe the benefits to be derived from a course of experimental science by pupils from twelve to fifteen years of age are grossly exaggerated by certain ardent devotees. Children of that age, as a rule, have not sufficient maturity of mind to enable them to profit by what professes to be a course of training in inductive reasoning. The average pupil does not become in this way, as some fondly imagine, an independent interrogator of nature." Yet this writer would retain the subject.

Professor Darroch's opinion, however, is more generally approved: "When a boy shows no aptitude for science he would be much better employed in spending his time in developing his linguistic studies." The evidence is strongly in favour of less restrictiveness and of more freedom of action in providing for the individual according to his aptitude. Drawing, too, is regarded as for many pupils a hopeless subject. It would appear, however, that there are differences of method, and one authority expresses the opinion that under modern methods more can be effected: "I believe almost every child can learn to draw, that is to say, to express his or her thoughts in a graphic manner." Perhaps it should be noted that this opinion comes from a girls' school.

Speaking generally, the letters indicate a conviction that the

system is far too cast-iron ; that Greek and German are both alike in peril, and that the subjects which displace them, as universally compulsory, are, as such, quite dissatisfying. With reference to clause 4, many distinctly approve of the Intermediate Examination, though most would like modifications. I think the general opinion would be met if the examination were not made an essential preliminary to the Leaving Certificate."

Dr HEARD concluded by moving :—“ 1. That the Regulations as a whole are too uniform in character ; that they permit too little liberty to pupils and managers of schools, and cramp unnecessarily the freedom of the teacher,” be passed as a resolution by the meeting.

Mr MACKENZIE, St Andrews, seconded. He said he was certainly of opinion that the regulations were too uniform, and that, if persisted in, they would ruin the higher education of Scotland. He had spent his last holidays in corresponding with the Department. He pressed the Department to be content with two years’ drawing and science, and thereafter allow them to be dropped and a second language taken for the Intermediate Certificate. They had yielded with a bad grace, and had consented to it as an experiment, but later the school had been fined £24 for those very pupils, who, instead of experimental science, had taken a second language. The Secondary Schools could not hope to keep pupils older than sixteen or seventeen (which seemed to be the average age of the Intermediate Certificate), and if a third language was not begun till then, it would hardly be begun at all.

Professor BURNET asked leave to explain why he could not vote either for or against the resolution submitted. He had not read one way or another on the regulations, and he had not the intimate knowledge of them working which others had. But there was another

matter which he begged leave to advert to. He referred to the regulation that specially qualified masters in Secondary Schools must be honours graduates. The effect of that regulation upon Greek and German was immediate. It was not at all likely that future teachers would consent to a course which would exclude them from the possibility of ever becoming Secondary teachers.

Mr ROSE, Kirkcaldy, said he rather thought Professor Burnet was wrong on that matter. The Department wished to dissociate French and German and to keep them distinct. It was only in classics that the two languages were grouped. His Board had also applied for leave to have one-third of their pupils exempted from science and drawing. Leave had been refused, and the only reasons given were the quotation of the phrase "a well-balanced education," and the statement that most Boards had loyally accepted the regulation, and it would be unfair to allow any one Board unequal advantages. He maintained that it was not the Department's business to secure that all schools should be kept at a dead level. There must, of course, be a certain amount of uniformity, but actual local conditions were bound to produce great variety. The wish for more freedom had been called "anarchy," but that was a misrepresentation.

Mr MORLAND SIMPSON, Aberdeen, said he thought it was greatly to be deplored that the matter under discussion had arisen at all, and it never would have arisen if the Department, before proceeding to legislate as they had done, had thought fit to consult the men who had borne, and were bearing, the burden and heat of the day. The probable age at which the average boy would take the Intermediate Certificate would be sixteen. That meant the age at which he went to the University would be eighteen and a-half. If Greek was thus crowded out till

sixteen, pupils would only have two years of Greek before going to the University. If they were to give the bulk of their time to Greek, the abler pupils would make enormous progress even in that time; but it was to be remembered that the University requirements demanded a high standard in four other subjects besides Greek. The probability was that, having substituted a smattering of science and drawing, very few pupils would take up Greek at all. The same fate was threatening German. Drawing was a special subject and should not be enforced on all. He had in recent years been interested in the physical measurements of their boys, and he had qualified himself to test their sight and hearing. He had discovered that there were many boys who were physically incapable of drawing a straight line. Some people were, by physical defect, unable to see a perpendicular line. Besides, the educational value of drawing—its value as a mental training—was very small in comparison with that of either German or Greek—Aristotle would have called it a “base mechanical art.”

Dr HEARD, Fettes, said that when he first went to Oxford one of the things that struck him most forcibly was the pronounced individuality of those who came from Scotland. In his examinations at Fettes of boys for “Foundation Scholarships” what struck him was the absence of individuality, and he sometimes felt a doubt whether that material would ever develop into the individuality he used to know in Oxford. That was the result of the uniformity which did not give the teacher freedom to let himself go.

No. 1 was then passed.

Dr HEARD then moved :—“ 2. That it is not a sound principle “ to lay down a fixed amount of time to be given to particular “ subjects without leaving any discretion to the teacher to suit

" his curriculum to the capacities of his scholars and the circumstances of the locality," be passed as a resolution.

Mr ROSE, Kirkcaldy, seconded.

Mr GEORGE SMITH, Merchiston, said he thought No. 2 only gave an example of that too rigid uniformity which was deplored in No. 1; and he was sure it would strengthen their position if, instead of condescending upon details, they concentrated wholly on that feature which was almost demonstrable—namely, that the regulations insisted too much on uniformity, and forgot that most people were neither average nor normal.

Dr HEARD said it was not necessarily meant that they should approach the Department with the resolutions as passed that day. It was merely for convenience that the President's circular had been taken as a means of carrying on the discussion.

Mr R. CARTER, Edinburgh Academy, said he was not quite clear whither the discussion was leading. Were they going through the points of the circular *seriatim*, and then finish up with a resolution?

Dr HEARD said the intention was to remit them to the Committee to consider the best method of pressing these resolutions on the Department.

Mr C. H. MILNE, Arbroath, said he felt they were too adverse in their criticism, and there was room for a word in favour of the Department and its regulations. The Arbroath Board had submitted their Intermediate curriculum as a fourfold course, which had received the approval of the Department. He

thought they were assuming a rigidity which the Department did not intend to impose.

Resolution No. 2 was passed.

Dr HEARD, in moving "3. That in particular the time assigned to Science and Drawing as a compulsory minimum is excessive," be passed as a resolution, said this was a slight modification of the original form to avoid ambiguities. He hoped to hear something said about the value of science teaching as it existed in the schools.

Mr ROSE, Kirkcaldy, seconded. He said he believed in science teaching, but he held that in order to be really educative it must be adapted to the pupils. He would have the science curriculum contain (1) knowledge of the development of science historically—the struggles and triumphs of the human mind in its conquest of nature; (2) scientific method and training in observation; (3) knowledge of the outstanding facts of science. For two years in the Intermediate course he would be glad to teach science on these lines.

The Resolution was adopted.

Dr HEARD moved:—"4. That the Intermediate Certificate Examination should not be enforced as a necessary preliminary of a full secondary course qualifying for the Leaving Certificate."

A short discussion arose at this point whether the words "without loss of grant" should be added to the resolution (as suggested by Mr M'Kenzie, St Andrews). It was, however, generally felt that it would be unwise for the Association to

make any reference to grants, and the amendment was not put to the meeting.

The Resolution was passed.

Dr HEARD then moved :—“ 5. That in the opinion of this Association the present Regulations of the Department will seriously affect Classical studies, and will in particular endanger Greek.

Mr ROSE seconded.

Dr HEARD then moved as a final resolution “ That this meeting authorises the Council to take such steps as it thinks advisable to obtain recognition of the above resolutions.”

Mr CARTER seconded, and this motion also was agreed to by the meeting.

The Association then adjourned for the usual interval.

At half-past two o'clock the Association met again in the University. Dr Heard took the chair, and presided over a very large audience assembled to hear Professor Burnet of the University deliver an address on “The Religious and Moral Ideas of Euripides.” The Vice-President, in a sentence, introduced the lecturer.

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# The Religious and Moral Ideas of Euripides.

By PROFESSOR BURNET, LL.D.,  
St Andrews University.



THERE are few questions on which it is easier to go wrong than that of the moral and religious ideas of a dramatist. No work of art can be interpreted unless we have regard to its medium. A drama is, no doubt, a written work, but that is an accident. It is written primarily because actors have to learn their parts. If it is a real drama at all, it is meant to be acted, not read ; and everything in it must be judged from the point of view of representation.

It is true, of course, that we can and do read plays. There are even people who say they can appreciate Shakespeare better by reading him than by seeing him acted, and I can quite believe that this may be so in the case of men endowed with a very vivid imagination and a considerable knowledge of stage-craft. It is conceivable that such people should be able to set before themselves an imaginative reproduction of a play which should far surpass anything the actual theatre, with its many limitations and frequent pursuit of false ideals, can give. This

is, I say, conceivable; but I am afraid that most people who prefer the written to the acted play mean something quite different. They read the play, not for itself, but for isolated passages distinguished by ingenious character-drawing or striking reflections. These are the elements in a dramatic composition which Aristotle called  $\eta\thetaos$  and  $\delta\alpha\nu\omega\alpha$ , and which he rightly subordinated to  $\mu\nu\thetaos$ , "the soul of the tragedy." Or again, they read the play "as literature" or "as poetry." That aspect of it is what Aristotle calls  $\lambda\acute{e}\kappa\iota\kappa$ , and also regards as subordinate. It is true, no doubt, on the other hand, that the ordinary playgoer who will not read plays is also attracted chiefly by a subordinate element of the drama, and that the least artistic, what Aristotle calls  $\delta\psi\iota\kappa$ , but that is not what I am speaking of now. A play is essentially the imitation of an action, and unless we bear this constantly in mind we shall certainly miss its significance.

This is, I take it, the source of most modern misinterpretations of Greek Tragedy. We approach it too much as literature, as something intended to be read, and so we emphasise unduly the element of  $\delta\alpha\nu\omega\alpha$  or reflection. We are apt to think of the plays as intended mainly to illustrate or further some religious or philosophical idea, and to attribute to the dramatist himself sentiments which are appropriate in the mouths of his characters at a given moment in the action, but are not in the least meant to have a wider application. The leading instance of this is very familiar, but it is of special interest as showing that the mistake to which I am referring is not wholly modern, but goes back to the time when there first came to be such a thing as a reading public. We all know the famous verse of the *Hippolytos*—

" 'Twas but my tongue, 'twas not my soul, that swore."

From the time of Aristophanes downwards this has been quoted to prove that the mind of Euripides was sophisticated by the

causistry of mental reservations. Let us suppose that the *Hippolytos* had been lost; and how could we have defended Euripides from the charge? If we had urged that the purpose of the verse was purely dramatic, we should have been met by the answer that Aristophanes was a dramatist, and could not have been mistaken in the poet's intention. It would have been hard to answer this; but fortunately the title of the *Hippolytos* begins with the letter I, and it has been preserved. If Euripides had happened to call the play *Phaidra*, as Racine called his version of it *Phèdre*, it would have been lost.\* We should not know that, while Hippolytos does utter the sentiment in the thick of an intolerable situation which he has not created, he also, as a matter of fact, goes to meet a cruel death rather than break this very oath. As it is, we even happen to know the origin of this misinterpretation from a statement in Aristotle's *Rheticic*.† Euripides was involved in an *ἀντίδοσις* action, and his opponent tried to make light of his sworn testimony by saying that no doubt, though his tongue had sworn, his mind remained unsworn, like that of his own Hippolytos. It was merely, then, a piece of forensic banter. That should be a warning to us not to construct Euripidean philosophies out of detached fragments.

There can be no doubt that Euripides is peculiarly liable to misinterpretation of this sort, and that for two reasons which follow at once from the general considerations which I have just stated. In the first place, he is the most purely dramatic of the Greek tragedians; and, in the second, the element of *διάροια* bulks larger in his work than in that of his predecessors. The consequence is that those who read plays in the undramatic spirit which has been indicated are peculiarly liable to be led

\* See Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 136, *sqq.*

† *Rhet.* iii. 15.

astray, and a fallacious view of the poet's mind is readily accepted. That fallacious view, as I consider it, has found its ablest expositor in Dr Verrall; but it is implied also in most of the current criticism.

The problem is admirably stated by Dr Verrall himself. Though Euripides was not popular during his lifetime, all antiquity placed him in the highest rank as a tragic poet. Plato, who disapproved of his weakness for "tyrants"—a point to which we shall return—admits that he was generally regarded as surpassing everyone in tragedy. Aristotle, though he makes certain reservations with regard to his stage-craft, says that he is "at any rate the most tragic of the poets." Such was also the opinion of the Renaissance, and in the seventeenth century Milton and Racine have no doubt of it. It is not till the nineteenth century that his position is seriously questioned, and even then there is a strange divergence in men's estimate of him, which is conveniently represented for us by the names of two great poets. Mr Swinburne has called Euripides "a botcher," while Browning gave some of his best work to the vindication of "Euripides the human." We are told of the late Sir Richard Jebb that "he could not speak of Euripides without pain in his voice, and seldom, without necessity, spoke of him at all." Sir Richard's successor at Glasgow took, we all know, a widely different view.

Dr Verrall sees that there must be something wrong somewhere. Someone must have misunderstood Euripides completely, so he suggests a view of him which, in the extreme form in which he states it, has at least the merit of novelty. He tells us that the plays of Euripides were intended to subvert what he calls "the Olympian religion" by so presenting the sacred legends as to bring out their fundamental absurdity and im-morality. It would not have been safe, however, he tells us, to do this openly. The performance of a tragedy was a religious service, and the Athenians of the end of the fifth century B.C.

were very orthodox, as is shown by such things as the prosecution of Anaxagoras, and the excitement caused by the mutilation of the *Hermai*, and the profanation of the Mysteries. So the plays were made orthodox to the outer seeming by a prologue, generally spoken by a god, and an epilogue with a *deus ex machina*. These parts of the play were intended for the multitude; the enlightened inner circle were to understand that the poet did not mean them. In fact, it is a canon of Euripidean criticism that every statement made by a god at the beginning or end of a play is to be taken as false. The poet's true meaning is generally just the reverse of what the god says.

Now, in the first place, if this, or anything like it, were true, it is hard to see how the character of Euripides as an artist would be saved by it. Nothing could well be more inartistic or undramatic; and, if Euripides had wished to undermine the Olympian mythology, there were many more suitable ways of doing so. A sacred oratorio would hardly be the place for the "Higher Criticism" or "The New Theology," and no more would a Greek tragedy. Of this Dr Verrall shows some consciousness when he says that the full effect of the plays could only be realised by subsequent reading and discussion. From which it follows that the actual performance of the plays was a more or less irrelevant accident! Could there be a severer criticism of a dramatist than this, and would not Euripides deserve every word his detractors have said of him if it were anything like the truth?

But really the whole theory falls to the ground at once if only we make clear to ourselves what was meant by religious orthodoxy in the fifth century B.C. Dr Verrall has transferred to antiquity a certain modern view of orthodoxy which would have been quite unintelligible in these days. According to this view, orthodoxy consists in believing in the historical narratives contained in certain sacred books; but this is evidently quite inapplicable to a religion which has no sacred book and no

creed. A great deal of misunderstanding has arisen from the saying that Homer was "the Bible of the Greeks." So far was that from being the case, that the Greek religious consciousness was in a perpetual state of revolt against the Homeric secularism with its humanised gods. It begins as early as Hesiod, who makes the Muses say that they know how to tell falsehoods like the truth about the gods, though they can tell truth too when they will. Stesichoros was struck blind for saying with Homer that Helen went to Troy with Paris, and only recovered his sight when he had written the famous Palinode beginning : "This is no true tale, nor didst thou ever enter the well-benched ships and visit the towers of Troy." Pindar is counted a religious poet, but he will have nothing to do with the more unedifying parts of mythology—"I stand aloof, and will never call one of the blessed gods a glutton." So he proceeds to invent a myth of his own. No one objects ; no one calls him *ἀσεβής*; the religious feelings of the Greeks are not touched at all by a free handling of mythology. The poets had made all that, and they might do as they pleased with it. If, then, Euripides had wished to undermine "the Olympian mythology" he would only have been following the example of the chief religious poets of the past. There was not the least reason for him to veil his meaning. Aischylos had produced the *Prometheus* without, so far as we know, the slightest scandal. The position of the Pythian Apollo is almost as ambiguous in the *Eumenides* as it is in the *Ion*. These things were no part of religion. What Aischylos did get into trouble for was a supposed revelation of the "Mysteries," that is, for representing in one of his plays certain acts or repeating certain words which most Athenians knew as well as he did, but which were held to be *ἀπόρρητα*. The defence was that he did not know they were *ἀπόρρητα*, and this shows us exactly where the gravity of the charge lay. The things which must not be touched are those upon which the intercourse of the city with

its gods was held to depend, and not the fancies which poets might have about these same gods. These formed a pleasing enough *ἀκρόαμα* at the Panathenaia or elsewhere, but no one regarded them as a matter of faith.

It is the same with all the prosecutions for impiety of which we know anything. Anaxagoras was condemned (if he was condemned) for saying that the Sun was a red-hot stone and the Moon earth. There was no mythology to speak of connected with Helios and Selene, but there were rites and sacrifices of immemorial antiquity. The mutilation of the Hermai has nothing to do with belief or disbelief in certain stories. The charge against Sokrates was, indeed, one of Atheism, but we see how remote the Greek meaning of this word was from ours by the fact that the indictment accused him of introducing "new gods." We know that to the Greeks Christianity appeared primarily as a form of Atheism, and that was just because it condemned what was of the essence of Greek religion.

Euripides, then, might have "undermined the Olympian religion" as much as he pleased, and he might have done it quite openly. As a matter of fact, he does make his Herakles say this:—

"I hold not that the gods cherish unlawful loves: I have never allowed nor will I ever believe a god has worn fetters on his hands, nor that one has ever been another's slave."

That is from Xenophanes, and there is no concealment or secret undermining about it.

But there is another weak point in Dr Verrall's theory, which can be made even clearer. If we suppose that Euripides wrote plays because that was a safe and convenient way of overthrowing mythology, we should at least expect that he would turn his attention to myths which were well known to his audience. Now Dr Verrall reached his view mainly from the analysis of two plays, the *Alkestis* and the *Ion*, which are as far as possible from answering to this description. I think it

is very doubtful whether many of the audience had ever heard these stories at all before they saw the plays. Admetos was, indeed, known as a pattern of hospitality from an old drinking-song, but that was probably all. I doubt if Ion was known outside the small circle who took an interest in the "scientific history" which had been imported from Ionia. At anyrate, we have the definite statement of Aristotle that even the myths that were known were known only to a few, and that is enough to make us hesitate to accept Dr Verrall's conclusions. It is a perfectly clear statement and one which Aristotle had no interest in making if it had not been true. It is quite inexplicable that a poet—and Euripides was certainly that—should waste his poetry in discrediting stories which were known only to a few.

We can, however, take a further step. In the form which they take in his plays, the myths are really in many cases the invention of Euripides himself. We can still distinguish three stages in the growth of these stories, and, as it happens, they correspond very closely to the three stages which we can trace in the growth of more modern legends, such as those that centre round the figure of King Arthur.

First, we have the stage of genuine legend. At this stage, we find a number of wonderful tales about national heroes. Some of these are genuine tradition, some are mythology proper, while a large number are *aīrta*, that is, explanations of ancient usages or of remarkable objects like monumental stones. These are the genuine legends of the people, and their chief characteristic is that each stands by itself. They are, therefore, often inconsistent with one another, and still more so with the legends of other peoples.

The next stage is that of systematisation. In the early Middle Ages this task was undertaken by chroniclers, monkish and other, like Geoffrey of Monmouth. They believed all these

legends, and they therefore felt obliged to weave them into a single whole, a task which they accomplished with marvellous ingenuity. In the process, legends were welded together which had no original connection with one another. That of the Holy Grail, for instance, comes from the East, and has no original link with Arthur at all. This work was accomplished for the Greek legends by the Ionic historians of the fifth century B.C. Their method was that of genealogy, and they filled up all the gaps as best they could. When we find a king called Kreon or a queen called Kreousa, we may be sure we are on their traces. Such figures as Ion are their invention altogether. They firmly believed that they could construct history in this way, and they applied to legend the spirit of rationalism.

The last stage is when the poet takes the dry bones of the rationalist chronicle, and turns its figures once more into real human beings. That process has been steadily applied to the Arthurian legend from the time of the early French *Chansons* to that of the *Idylls of the King* and *Parsifal*, and that is what Euripides did. So it is really true that the plots of his plays are his own creation, and it is inconceivable that he should have set himself to make these plots seem incredible. Such real inconsistencies and awkwardnesses as critics have discovered in them are wholly due to their source, the rationalistic chronicle, and the worst we can say of Euripides is that he did not always quite succeed in making true human stories out of these arid combinations. But that is a very different thing from Dr Verrall's view. It was no part of an Athenian's faith to believe in Hellanikos, and it is not likely that many Athenians had read him at all.

So far our conclusion has been negative. Can we say anything about the actual religious views of Euripides? We might, of course, string together a cento of passages from the remains of his work which would produce exactly the opposite impression to that which has lately been current. This, for

instance, from the *Helena*: "Naught is certain that men dream ; but the words of the gods have I found true." But that would be to fall into the very same mistake we have criticised in others. We have no right to infer a dramatist's convictions from the utterances of his characters. They speak for themselves, and not for him.

There are, however, the choruses, and it is possible, if we are very careful, to infer something from them. The theory that the chorus represents the "ideal spectator" is, of course, erroneous ; but it is, nevertheless, the case that the Greeks were accustomed to the expression of personal feeling through a chorus. Pindar speaks to us quite directly in this way. It is strange to us, and we have no real parallel to it except the singing of a certain type of hymn, by congregations whom we know quite well not to be uttering their own feelings. Even so, we must be cautious ; for the chorus expresses a mood rather than a conviction. To infer Euripides from his choruses is something like inferring Shakespeare from his Sonnets ; but there too, as we know, something can be done.

There is also the last play of Euripides, the *Bakchai*, which is not so much a drama as the celebration of a certain form of religious belief, the ecstatic worship of Dionysos. This play has always been the great difficulty to the theory of Euripides as a rationalist. It celebrates, in fact, the triumph of every element of religion which, from the common point of view, is held to be irrational. Its opponents are represented, not only as foolish or wicked, but as ridiculous, and though the god himself is pictured as something strange and remote, and even as vindictive, it is with the calm vindictiveness of an outraged natural law. If we had that play only, we should say that Euripides was an Orphic votary, and no doubt we should be wrong ; but it is, nevertheless, quite easy to show that, all through his life, he was deeply affected by that strange religion, the significance of which we are only now beginning to understand.

One of the lines which afforded most amusement to Aristophanes and the rest was the famous “Who knows if life be death and death be life.” This has been strangely called “sophistry,” but is really Orphicism. According to that doctrine the body is the tomb of the soul, which can only return to its true life with the gods after a long course of purification. Even in the *Alkestis*, we find already a preoccupation with Orphicism. There is nothing to be found stronger than Ἀνάγκη, Necessity, the great Orphic divinity, and there is no spell against her even in the Thracian tablets that Orpheus wrote. In Hippolytos we have a study of the Orphic saint, as is shown by the taunts of his father Theseus: “Take Orpheus for thy lord and play the Bakchos, holding in honour the vapour of his many scriptures.” Instances could easily be multiplied, but these are enough. They do not entitle us to say that Euripides was an Orphic; but they do entitle us to say that, like Plato after him, he was fascinated by that strange religion of original sin, purification, and redemption.

But, if that is so, we shall have to say that, so far from being an innovator, Euripides had at least a romantic attachment to what was archaic and primitive. Well, there are other things which confirm this view. He is evidently very learned in religious antiquities of all kinds. A very small knowledge of Greek religion will carry you through Aischylos and Sophokles; but, when you come to Euripides, you find you are in the hands of a specialist and have to know details. His latest play takes the drama back to its original theme, the triumph of Dionysos. The Prologue and the *deus ex machina* are really archaisms; for they must have existed when there was only one actor. The old trochaic tetrameter is increasingly common in the later plays. And, if it is true that Euripides introduces the vocabulary of common life into his plays, it is no less true that he uses old words taken from the elegiac and lyric poets which cannot be matched in Sophokles.

On the whole, I take it that Euripides was a man who could find but little satisfaction in his own times, and was very willing to look back to the past for it. And that, I believe, was in large measure because he was an intensely patriotic Athenian, who shared the general uneasiness as to the future of democracy which marked the end of the fifth century B.C. Here again, however, we must be careful. We must not try to construct a moral and political creed by stringing together fragments of which the context is wholly conjectural, or isolated expressions of feeling where the intention is purely dramatic. If we proceed in that way, we may easily piece together a picture of Euripides as an oligarch or an extreme democrat, just as we please. There is, for instance, a fragment of the *Phoinix* which extols the virtue of birth in a way which reminds us of Pindar and his contempt for "taught goodness." There are other passages which breathe the spirit of *Theognis*. But all this is beside the mark. The real point is that, being essentially a dramatist, and also a man very sensitive to the disquiet of his age, he has over and over again given utterance to the feeling which many of the best men, and not a few of the worst, entertained with regard to the problems of the time.

That feeling was this. The democracy of Athens had become great just because it was ready and willing to obey the guidance of its best men ; but even before the death of Perikles a change had come over it in this respect. It had begun to be jealous of all superiority, whether of breeding or intelligence, and to be impatient of everything that went beyond the middling and the ordinary. Over and over again we hear of the *φθόνος* to which all higher natures are exposed. The fate of Alcibiades was the most striking instance of this. Alcibiades had his faults, of course, but the ruin of his career was due rather to his virtues. Had he been a worse man, he might very possibly have made himself tyrant of Athens. But the memory of Perikles and the influence of Sokrates kept him from that, and he failed because

he aspired to fill a position which no one would tolerate any longer. From this point of view, it is interesting to notice the prevailing tradition that Euripides wrote the Epinikian ἐγκώμιον on Alcibiades's victory at Olympia. It may well be true, and it has a certain pathos. The days for that sort of thing were long gone by; but Euripides, we have seen, was a man who lived, at least in spirit, in better times. In any case, he often gives dramatic expression to a state of feeling which must have been common among his friends. He makes *Hekabe* say: "There is no mortal that is free. A man is either a slave to wealth or circumstance, or the voice of the majority and the written laws keep him from showing his character as he thinks right."

It is this feeling which leads to utterances that sound immoral. As in all times of feebleness, the "strong man" became the ideal. In our own days we have seen how the reaction against democracy inspired first Carlyle and then Nietzsche with this conception. The deadening influence of contemporary mediocrity makes men long for a "hero" or a "super-man" who will trample down all conventions and break the fetters of custom. The doctrine that "Might is right" appeals to them more and more. At such times, very unlikely people are exalted into heroes. Frederick the Great was, in sober truth, not exactly that. At Athens, a still stranger "hero" was the fashion, Archelaos of Macedon. Plato has represented all this for us in the *Gorgias*. We do not know who Kallikles was, or indeed whether he was a real personage at all; but Plato has drawn in him the perfect embodiment of this view of life, the view which Plato felt it most necessary to deal with. Archelaos is the ideal of Kallikles, and it is not without significance that Euripides ended his life at his court.

This view easily passes into sheer immorality. In the *Herakleidai*, Iolaos says: "Long ere this have I learnt of my own experience and not from others that the righteous man is there

for his fellows, and not for himself ; he that seeks his own is useless indeed for the State and hurtful to his fellow-man ; but for himself is best." That is what Thrasymachos says in the *Republic*—ἀλλότριον μὲν ἀγαθόν, οἰκεία δὲ βλάβη—and it was a common belief in those days. It is monstrous, however, to accuse Euripides of immorality because he has given dramatic expression to an extreme form of a sentiment he knew only too well. And, indeed, it can, I think, be shown that Euripides had actually found something like the same answer to the problem of the "strong man" as Plato found later on.

There is one play which, as it seems to me, is more definitely intended to teach a lesson, to solve a moral problem, than usual, though this is done by strictly dramatic means. I infer this from the choice of the leading characters. The Dorian hero Herakles—a very different person from the jovial Athenian god of the same name, whom Euripides had brought before us in the *Alkestis*—was the ideal figure of those who preached the return to Nature in those days. Pindar had sung how Herakles had driven the cattle of Geryones without paying a price for them, as an instance of how the law of Nature justifies the most violent deed, and the verses are duly quoted by Kallikles in the *Gorgias*, as they doubtless were over and over again in such circles. Euripides has left us an immortal study of this very Herakles, and he has contrasted him with Theseus, his Ionic counterpart, who had become the traditional representative of the best spirit of Athenian democracy, an idealised Perikles. It is noticeable that, so far as can be made out, the plot of the *Herakles* is altogether the invention of the poet. Tradition did not bring Theseus into connection with Herakles at all. We hear nowhere else of the tyrant Lykos who persecutes Amphitryon, Megara, and the children of Herakles. Above all, the madness of Herakles, in which he slaughters his own children, is put at the end of his labours, a thing that is never done elsewhere.

We note once more in passing the extremely free handling

of mythological subjects which was open to a tragic poet. If an Athenian audience had had any definite views about the life of Herakles, such a plot would have been impossible. It is clear, at the same time, that this reconstruction of the plot must have been undertaken with a purpose, and we can still, I think, see what that was.

In the first place, Lykos is introduced to represent the hatefulness of tyranny, a point which is still further emphasised by the character of Iris, the messenger of Hera. Here Euripides reproduces an old Aischylean piece of stagecraft. Lyssa, Madness, who is sent by Hera to work the ruin of Herakles has no taste for her task. She comes of the older stock of gods, and she only acts with reluctance as the minister of oppression. We are reminded of Hephaistos in the *Prometheus*. Iris plays the part of Kratos and Bia. She sneers at Herakles and his alleged divine parentage. Now that Herakles has finished his labours, she tells us, the protection of Zeus is withdrawn from him, and Hera may work her will. She will send madness on him; for she wishes him to kill his children and, as Iris says with insufferable arrogance, "I will it too."

The revolting picture of the character of Iris is due to a very deep feeling in the mind of Euripides. This has been quaintly expressed by the older critics. Euripides, they say, hated heralds, just as he hated women and athletes, and it is very certain that most of the personages of this class whom he has introduced are odious. The fact is that this is the favourite way of bringing out the hatefulness of absolute power or tyranny. There is a certain glamour about the tyrant himself, though in the case of Lykos it is reduced to a minimum; but the essential lowness and vulgarity of tyranny comes out in its subordinate instruments. The tyrant's order, when conveyed through the mouth of a subaltern, is seen as the hateful thing it is. That is why the heralds in Euripides are so unpleasing, and Iris herself, as Hera's herald, shares their general character.

At the same time, it is just in the speech of Iris that we get the key to a great deal of the play. It is fundamental that Zeus protects Herakles so long as he is engaged in his labours, but that now he is exposed to the enmity of Hera. The wild and untamed character of the Dorian hero is only of value when it is engaged in the service of mankind. It has not that greater strength which can rest from its labours and be of service in peace as well as in war.

That, I think, is what Euripides meant us to understand by the Herakles. The strong man is only of value so long as he uses his strength in the service of mankind. When he is released from that service, his strength becomes a danger to himself and to those that are nearest and dearest to him.

And this is marked by the character of Theseus, the type of Athenian *φιλανθρωπία*. Euripides takes advantage of the fact that Herakles was worshipped as a god in Attika to introduce Theseus as his protector and friend. Sophokles makes Theseus play a similar part in the *Oedipus at Colonus*, which, it is important to remember, was later in date than the *Herakles*. The idea was Euripides's own, and it is quite likely that Sophokles borrowed it from him. From the time of the *Eumenides* the *ἐπιείκεια* and *φιλανθρωπία* of Athens had often been celebrated, and the reception of the Heraklids in Attika was a favourite theme of patriotic orators. But there is more, I take it, in the *Herakles* than mere patriotism, and I have tried to show what that was.

In the study of Euripides I have been guided all through by Plato. That great dramatist has left us some marvellous studies of the spiritual unrest, not so much of his own time, as of the days of his early youth. It was to the questionings of those days that Plato sought to find an answer, and his artistic genius led him to embody the doubts and strivings of the last generation in his dialogues. Critics who look for contemporary controversies and personal references in Plato miss the point alto-

gether. The dialogues are not directly concerned with Plato's own time at all. He did not think it possible fully to commit his own teaching to writing. But he did give us a marvellous picture of the generation that came before his own, and it is for that reason, I believe, that we may safely follow his guidance in the interpretation of Euripides.

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On the motion of Mr J. C. Smith, H.M.I.S., a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Professor Burnet for his admirable lecture.

[Applause]



## **APPENDIX.**



## REPORT BY SECRETARY 1906-7.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I have the pleasure of stating to you that the number of members enrolled in the Association at the close of last session, 31st October 1907, was 300, being an increase of 86 since last year. The Association now consists of 28 ladies and 272 gentlemen, as against 21 ladies and 193 gentlemen last year. No new life members have been added during the session, the number of these remaining at 48. Two resigned membership during the year and 2 died.

The recommendations of the Special Committee on Latin Pronunciation were adopted by the Association at the meeting in Edinburgh a year ago, and as approved by the Scotch Education Department are printed in Volume V. of our Proceedings. This volume, containing the reports of the last two meetings in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, was ready this year for distribution to members on 13th July. Four hundred copies were printed, 317 were sent out to members, libraries, and the press; 8 copies were sold by the publishers, and 30 bound copies of the book and a number in sheets unbound are on hand with the publishers, Messrs Pillans & Wilson. Several copies were returned through the Post Office owing to incorrect address. Will members be so kind as to intimate changes of address to me?

By direction of the Council, at a meeting on the 9th February, 150 copies of the Amended Rules of Association and list of members were printed in pamphlet form at the beginning of April, and I shall be happy to supply to-day any members who desire to have a copy with a view to bringing the Association under the notice of friends.

It has been found increasingly difficult to arrange for lunch

in the University place of meeting owing to the impossibility of giving an exact estimate of the number likely to be present. The Council, therefore, at a recent meeting, resolved to depart from this practice, and to indicate on the billet of business, as we have done to-day, convenient luncheon rooms.

I should add that by resolution of the Ninth General Meeting of Association in Edinburgh, last November, the Annual Subscription was reduced to 5s.

W. LOBBAN,  
*Hon. Secretary.*

16th November 1907.

#### TREASURER'S STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

*For Year ending 31st October 1907.*

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.
To Balance from 1905-6, £75 3 1	Printing and Stationery, £42 13 1
Subscriptions—	Expenses of Meeting, ... 7 3 0
Ordinary Members, 49 0 0	Postages, etc., ... ... 4 6 3
Interest, ... ... 2 4 3	Advertising, ... ... 1 4 6
	Balance carried forward
	to year 1907-8, ... 71 0 6
<u>£126 7 4</u>	<u>£126 7 4</u>

HUGH MANNERS, *Hon. Treasurer.*

## Rules of the Association.

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1. The Association shall be called "THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND."
2. The objects of the Association shall be to bring together for practical conference all persons interested in Classical Study and Education; to promote communication and comparison of views between Universities and Schools; to discuss subjects and methods of Teaching and Examination, and any other questions of interest to Classical Scholars that may from time to time arise.
3. All are eligible for Membership who are interested in Classical Education, and desirous of promoting its efficiency.
4. Graduates in Arts of the Scottish Universities with Honours in Classics are entitled to Membership of the Association free of charge for one year.
5. The Council of the Association shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, all *ex officio*, together with twelve Ordinary Members of Council. At every Meeting of the Council five shall form a quorum.
6. One-third of the Ordinary Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation and shall not be re-eligible to the same office till after the expiration of one year.

7. The Association shall hold annually two regular Meetings, one in Spring and one in Autumn ; and it shall be in the power of the Council, if they think it desirable, to arrange for a Meeting at any other time. At each Meeting of the Association a Local Committee shall be appointed to make arrangements for the following meeting in communication with the President and the Secretary.

8. The place of meeting shall be in the four University towns in rotation, and *three weeks'* notice shall be given of each Meeting.

9. The Annual Subscription shall be Five Shillings, to be paid to the Treasurer for the ensuing twelve months in October, or not later than 31st December. Life Membership is obtained by a single payment of Three Guineas. If any Member's Subscription is two years in arrear, the Council shall, after due notice, remove his name from the list of Members.

10. It shall be in the power of the Association at a General Meeting to amend or alter any of the above Rules, with consent of two-thirds of the Members present—due notice of any such proposed alteration to be made to the Secretary before the said Meeting, and stated on the billet of business.

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## Officials.

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*President.*

Professor G. G. RAMSAY, LL.D., Litt.D., Drumore, Blairgowrie.

*Vice-Presidents.*

Professor S. H. BUTCHER, M.P., LL.D., Litt.D., 6 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.

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*Who retire in November 1908.*

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*Who retire in November 1909.*

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GEORGE LYELL, Esq., M.A., Daniel Stewart's College, Edinburgh.

Miss G. F. PETERSON, M.A., 6 Lonsdale Terrace, Edinburgh.

*Who retire in November 1910.*

## List of Members, Session 1907-8.

*The Names of Life Members are printed in Italics.*

Adams, Thomas, M.A., George Watson's College, Edinburgh.  
 Ainslie, Miss, B.A., Headmistress of George Watson's Ladies' College, Edinburgh.  
 Ainsworth, A. R., M.A., Lecturer in Greek, Edinburgh University.  
 Alexander, W., M.A., Schoolhouse, Kenmay.  
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 Anderson, John, M.A., Headmaster, Maclarens High School, Callander.  
 Anderson, John, M.A., Classical Master, Academy, Hamilton.  
*Anderson, Thomas L., F.R.G.S., Golfview, Giffnock, Glasgow.*  
 Anderson, W. B., M.A., Victoria University, Manchester.  
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 Arneil, Allan, F.E.I.S., Stewarton Drive, Cambuslang.  
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 Reattie, James, M.A., Rector of Oban High School.  
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 Blackwood, Miss H. O., M.A., Whitehill Higher Grade School, Glasgow.  
 Blair, Matthew, Rector of Alloa Academy.  
 Blue, William, M.A., 10 Canongate, Jedburgh.  
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*Brown, Professor G. Baldwin, M.A., Edinburgh University.*

*Brown, Professor John R., University College, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
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*Cameron, A., M.A., The Academy, Lockerbie.*  
*Campbell, Rev. A. J., B.A. (Cantab.), The Manse, Lerwick.*  
*Campbell, Miss Margaret M., 325 Bury New Road, Manchester.*  
*Campbell, Professor Lewis, LL.D., Villa Sant Andrea, Alassio, Italy.*  
*Carter, Reginald, M.A., Rector of Edinburgh Academy.*  
*Chapman, John B., M.A., Classical Master, Airdrie Academy.*  
*Chapman, Miss Dorothy, M.A., Rathalpin, St Andrews.*  
*Cheyne, James D., M.A., Alves.*  
*Clark, James, M.A., H.M.I.S., Perth.*  
*Clark, John, M.A., LL.D., Professor of English, South African College, Capetown.*  
*Constable, Marshall P., M.A., High School, Stirling.*  
*Cooper, Rev. Professor, D.D., Glasgow University.*  
*Cooper, Patrick, M.A., Advocate, 259 Union Street, Aberdeen.*  
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*Craik, Sir Henry, K.C.B., M.P., 5A Dean's Yard, Westminster.*  
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Dixon, Prof. W. Macneile, M.A., Litt.D., Glasgow University.

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Douglas, George A., M.A., George Heriot's School, Edinburgh.

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Duff, John K., M.A., Royal High School, Edinburgh

*Duff, Professor J. Wight, M.A., Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

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Dundas, The Hon. Lord, Senator of the College of Justice, Edinburgh.

Edgar, Professor John, M.A., St Andrews University.

Edward, Wm. Alfred, M.A., Broughton Higher Grade School, Edinburgh.

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*Emslie, Alexander, M.A., Headmaster, The Grammar School, Keith.*

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Forbes, Miss Johanna, M.A., The University, Aberdeen.

Fordyce, J. W., M.A., Academy, Airdrie.

Forsyth, Ernest H., M.A., Classical Master, High School, Dundee.

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Fyfe, Leander, M.A., Headmaster, Queen's Park Higher Grade School, Glasgow.

Gale, James, M.A., Headmaster, Higher Grade School, Lasswade.

Geddes, James, M.A., Public School, Rothiemay.  
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Georgeson, James, M.A., Classical Master, High School for Girls, Aberdeen.  
Gibson, James, M.A., Classical Master, Dunfermline High School.  
Gibson, James, M.A., Headmaster, Woodside Higher Grade School, Glasgow.  
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Gillies, W. King, M.A., Senior Classical Master, High School, Glasgow.  
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Gow, William, M.A., Classical Master, Perth Academy.  
Grant, Professor Sir Ludovic J., Bart., M.A., Edinburgh University.  
Grant, William, M.A., Lecturer, Provincial Committee's Training College,  
Aberdeen.  
*Green, G. Buckland, M.A., Assistant Master, Edinburgh Academy.* .  
Gunn, Edmund J., M.A., LL.B., Strathnaver, Helensburgh. -

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Hannay, R. K., M.A., Lecturer in Ancient History, St Andrews University.  
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Harvey, John, M.A., The Institution, Dollar.  
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*Henderson, Hugh, M.A., Rector of the Grammar School, Lanark.*  
Henderson, John W., M.A., Rector of the Academy, Rothesay.  
Henderson, P. Wright, D.D., Warden of Wadham College, Oxford.  
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Keeton, G. H., M.A., Fettes College, Edinburgh.

Kellow, Henry, M.A., The Academy, Airdrie.

Kemp, William, M.A., Headmaster, High School, Kelso.

Kerr, Andrew J. C., M.A., High School, Wishaw.

Kerr, John G., M.A., LL.D., Allan Glen's School, Glasgow.

Ketchin, Matthew S., M.A., Classical Master, Falkirk High School.

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*Kirton, Joseph D., M.A., Rector, Anderson High School, Lerwick.*

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